China weekly Review

密勒氏評論報

Kwangtung Marches On

. . . WANG TSUNG-YEN

NIGHT SCHOOL FOR TIENTSIN WORKERS

"NOT A CICADA"

. . . a review by MAX BICKERTON

LIU SHAO-CHI'S ANALYSIS of the AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

JULY 22, 1950

JMP 4,000

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LETTERS
From the People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the China Weekly Review.

HUMAN INIQUITIES

To the Editor:

I have been wondering why the United States has been so persistent and consistent in pursuing her cock-eyed anti-communist cold war policy throughout the world, thus causing her to lose money, prestige and the goodwill of everyone. What has happened to her sense of fair play and her traditional practice of democracy and good government? Now the US is irrationally helping only the worst governments of the world.

The Washington administrators have apparently turned a deaf ear to the book, "Thunder Out of China," which they should have used as a handbook.

Independence movements are sweeping through all the backward countries in the world and the irrestible will for peace is shown by the mass support of the peace signatures campaign.

How, does the United States dare go against the time and tide? Surely it will endanger her own national entity as well as the establishment of God's Kingdom on Earth. History has proved time and again that brute force has been the source of all human iniquities.

S. Y. LIVINGSTON HU

Chungking
July 2, 1950

WE WANT PEACE

To the Editor:

We are a large group of young men of China. We have suffered from the war for a long time. It makes our country weak and our living painful. Oh, what a terrible thing war is.

Now imperialists and warmongers are trying to stir up the third world war. They think the atomic bomb can conquer everything. But we know it has lost its secret already and cannot cope with the power of the people. Look! There are 450,000,000 people of China who have stood up. It shows every oppressed people that they have a brilliant and hopeful future.

At present the people of Korea are securing their victory over the American imperialists and the traitor Li Sung-man (Syngman Rhee). We think more peoples of the semi-colonial and colonial countries will soon be free, liberated and independent.

Let the imperialist warmongers tremble before the power of the peace camp.

We must firmly defend world peace in order to protect the welfare of humanity. There are millions of people who have signed the petition for world peace. So the sooner the warmongers stir up a war, the sooner they will die. Anyone who wants war is our common foe. We appeal to all peace-loving and war-hating people in the world.

We want a victorious peace!

M. S. WANG

Shanghai High School
Shanghai
July 12, 1950

MATERNAL CARE

To the Editor:

A couple of months ago the Municipal Bureau of Public Health united with the Municipal Women's Association to organize all public health groups and people's organizations in order to give free medical treatment to maternal cases of poor women. The poor women with difficult childbirth were to be sent to hospitals and general health knowledge was to be given to the masses of women.

Central groups were formed in accordance with the areas of administration and under their jurisdiction smaller groups were organized to include doctors doing public and private work.

At first, because of the lack of good propaganda, the people generally failed to understand the real significance of their tasks. So, in April, there were few applications for free medical treatment. In May, every administrative district held 10 meetings at which the cadres explained to the mothers all the questions they raised and told them that the government did this out of no other reason than its deep concern for the people.

Improvement was shown in May accordingly. Applications increased in number from 49 to 230, and 21 women who were having difficult childbirth were sent to hospitals. The Municipal Bureau of Public Health is said to have made arrangements with about 11 large hospitals to receive maternity cases that need special attention.

The people's government has a history of only eight months, but it has already shown that it is a government of, by and for the people both in name and in deed. Is it any wonder that people everywhere in the nation are supporting their government with all their hearts?

P. Y. WANG

Peking
July 9, 1950

A WRITTEN TEST

To the Editor:

In our study course we finished Chapter I, "From Monkey to Man—Labor Makes the World," and Chapter II, "The Class Struggle," and then we were advised to prepare for a written test.

The purpose of the test is to see how much we have absorbed from our studies and to survey our attitude toward our studying, since after the written test we will have mutual criticism of each other's answers and self-criticism.

The test consists of four parts: true or false, selection, fill in the blank, and questions to be answered. The part containing questions was given out before the day of the test to give everyone the opportunity to think through the answers.

On July 8 all of my colleagues, despite their different working hours, went that morning to take the test, which was limited to one hour exactly. The results of the test will be made known through the democratic process of mutual criticism and discussion.

WONG SZE-LIANG

Shanghai
July 15, 1950

BRITISH SOCIALISM

To the Editor:

There are many parties in Britain, such as the Conservative Party, Labor Party, Liberal Party and Communist Party. Day by day the Conservative Party goes closely to the counter-revolutionary front, but the Labor Party is a little better. The Liberal Party and the Communist Party are not very strong yet in Britain.

(Continued on Page 144)

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the progressive newsweekly

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Mary Barrett
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Vol. 118 Shanghai, Saturday, July 22, 1950 No. 8

NEW DEAL FOR STUDENTS

THIS spring, for the first time in modern Chinese history, there is a job for every college graduate. The yearly spectacle of a flood of college-trained young men and women searching—usually with little success—for work is now a thing of the past. Actually, there are jobs for several times the number of graduates available.

The situation in East China shapes up roughly as follows: Of the 6,487 college graduates in this area, from 2,500 to 3,500 will be offered jobs in East China, 2,500 to 3,000 will be offered jobs in the Northeast, while from 500 to 800 are to be offered positions with the central government.

The competition for the services of these graduates is stiff. East China, while producing more graduates than any other area of China, could find jobs for virtually all of the graduates of its colleges and universities. However, schools in the Northeast do not produce nearly enough graduates for that area's fast expanding industry and commerce, especially in engineering, science and allied fields, and have requested East China to recommend graduates for jobs in the Northeast. The same is true as regards other areas of the country, which are all trying to make up their deficiencies in college trained men and women by drawing from the East China area.

After each student has been allotted a job, there are still many unfilled vacancies. For instance, the PLA, which is rapidly expanding its campaign for soldier education, could absorb the entire crop of graduates from East China for its teachers corps. However, like all other organizations, it has to take the quota allotted, and do the best it can with a far smaller number of graduates than it actually wants and needs.

One of the more interesting points about this situation is that the final decision of whether or not to accept appointment is left up to the student. The local school and educational authorities, after studying the requests received and the records of each student, decide which student is to be offered which job. Since every effort is made to place students in jobs for which their training best qualifies them, the majority of the students are willing and anxious to take up their appointments. Some, however, for personal or other reasons do not desire to accept the job offered. While the school authorities do their best to persuade them to take up the proffered positions, the final decision rests with the individual student.

* * *

MEANWHILE, throughout the country undergraduate students from colleges and universities are going into summer vocational training work. In north China more than 3,000 students have already gone to work in factories, mines, and various organizations. In Shanghai 3,289 students have applied for similar summer work or for free tuition to summer schools.

The purpose of this summer vocational program is two-fold. It provides work or free tuition for needy students and at the same time enables these young intellectuals to gain practical insight into the lives and problems of the nation's laboring population. This is in line with the decision made at the recent higher education conference to link theory and practice in the nation's schools.

* * *

THE full significance of these developments can best be appreciated when the present situation is contrasted with conditions prevailing in pre-liberation days. In the old days the nation's colleges and universities each year turned out thousands of students of whom only a fraction were able to find employment at all in keeping with their capabilities. In fact, in the post-Japanese war years, those graduates who were able to obtain jobs at all were considered lucky.

The number of engineers, science majors and other technically trained graduates who ended up "doing business" was undoubtedly much greater than the number able to obtain work in their chosen fields. Also, the old scholarship tradition, a hangover from the imperial days, which created an inseparable gulf between those who worked with their hands and the educated class constituted a mill stone around the country's neck. Stories of engineers who sat in their offices "instructing" workers as how best to solve problems in the plant or field without ever so much as picking up a hammer or wrench themselves, are legion.

All this is now being rapidly changed. Already reports from industrial centers in the older liberated areas tell of the technological improvements and inventions being perfected as a result of the active cooperation between the old, experienced workers and the theoretically trained engineers and technicians. Such advances were impossible under the old system. Similar reports come from other fields. Teachers, doctors, administrators and others throughout the country have gained in their own knowledge and have improved their service to the country because of the practical experience they have been gaining by working with and among the common people.

SELF-STYLED SABOTEUR

ONE of the more interesting stories we have seen lately was a *North American Newspaper Alliance* dispatch from Taipeh printed in the May 31 issue of the *Seattle Times* which purports to tell the story of "Professor George," a foreign Catholic priest who claims to have organized close to 1,000,000 armed anti-people's government guerillas in China.

From beginning to end, the story, at least that part describing Professor George's successes in setting up an anti-communist "underground" in this country, is all hogwash. However, what is interesting is the fact that a Catholic priest is reported in the press to be openly attempting to organize an espionage and sabotage movement in China. It is also interesting to note he apparently shows no reluctance in boasting of his activities to a foreign correspondent.

According to the story, which was written by one Steffan Andrews, "Professor George is one of the few specially selected underground priests who wear no clerical robes, but provide the Vatican with probably the best intelligence on communism in the world today." His organization, the story says, is headed by eight Belgian, French and Czech "students" he brought with him when he came to Taiwan directly from work —apparently of a similar nature—in Eastern Europe.

Of Professor George's activities on the China mainland, the story says that his "mission is to blow up bridges, tunnels and railheads and to sabotage communications. His specific targets are airports, ammunition dumps and food stores."

As all residents of China are aware, anti-people's guerillas are relatively few and far between these days and are becoming more so with the passage of time. In some areas, particularly in the Southwest and Northwest, a number of pro-landlord groups did spring up shortly after liberation. Generally these bands were originally clustered around a number of local feudal chiefs. Those that still exist have lost all semblance of a political force and are today nothing more than disorganized and scattered bandit gangs. Just this week, one of these bandit chieftains was captured in Sinkiang, while two of his colleagues, one with only about a dozen retainers left, were chased off into the mountains.

Thus, the "guerilla problem" exists today only as a bandit problem and, while still a problem, is—because of the military cleanup activities of the PLA and the political education work by the new authorities—becoming less so with each passing month. Professor George was definitely pulling the wool over correspondent Andrews' eyes when he claimed an army of 1,000,000 guerillas and when he talked of his successes in destroying food stocks.

However, it is extremely interesting and very instructive to note that such a character as "Professor George" exists and operates on Taiwan and that he openly links the Vatican with his schemes for death and destruction. We can hardly imagine a religious organization maintaining a corps of "Professor Georges," as the story claims it does. We believe the Catholic Church would be well-advised to clarify its attitude toward Professor George and his publicly boasted-of intentions to promote disruption and suffering in China.

TAIWAN

Fang Ch'eng

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Problem of Water Conservancy

July 18, 1925

At present no agency in China is sufficiently equipped and manned to undertake this task on a scale such as is here urged as necessary. The size and importance of the task justifies a special attack. The conservation of water is important enough in other nations, but in China it is urgent and critical. It seems reasonable that the Boxer indemnity funds could be put to no better purpose than to the conservation of China's water resources. To understand fully the individual problems and their solutions is more than half the task.

From "The Boxer Funds for Conservation of Water Supplies" by W. C. Lowdermilk.

Political Unrest in Chungking

Eighty foreigners have left Chungking as the anti-foreign situation is getting out of the hands of the officials. The remaining residents are living aboard the steamers anchoring at Chungking. All British steamers in the gorges are tied up at Ichang, below Chungking, on account of a strike by Chinese pilots. Only about thirty foreigners are remaining at Chungking, not counting the Japanese. Two weeks previous to the departure of foreigners, all house servants of British residents had gone on strike, and later British residents were openly threatened in the streets.

10 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

British Close Burma Road

July 20, 1940

That the British Government has capitulated to Japan and agreed to close the vital Burma Road was confirmed on Thursday, July 18. The statement that the road is to be closed "for three months during the rainy season" was a bit of diplomatic subterfuge that fooled nobody and was on a par with the statements of Chamberlain after the Munich capitulation which started Hitler on his career of conquest.

Also, it is equally obvious that the military controllers of the Japanese Government, who are now engaged in the creation of a totalitarian regime, have utilized the issue of the Burma Road as a smoke-screen to cover further aggression on the continent as well as the suppression of independent political opinion or action at home in Japan.

New Order in East Asia

The Special Service Bureau of the Japanese army in Amoy accords every protection necessary for the transportation of opium and narcotics between the cities of Canton, Hongkong and Amoy. The enemy in Chaochow and Swatow have recently imported a huge quantity of narcotics from Formosa. It is reported that they have enlisted the services of Chinese traitors to carry such narcotics to the interior. To evade inspection, it is planned to conceal the drugs in coffins.

The present Japanese narcotic policy, which is the true name for the "New Order in East Asia," is not only destructive to the Chinese people but to the whole of humanity. So for this reason alone the Chinese are justified in appealing to the world for action to thwart Japan's aggression in China. Unless the Japanese military and economic aggression in China is checked, there is no possibility for the Chinese to eradicate this evil.

From "Japan's Opium War on China" by C. Y. W. Meng.

Kwangtung Marches On

The people's government, inheriting a bankrupt province wrecked by 20 years of KMT misrule, in six months has instituted basic political and economic reforms.

THE people's government faced many problems after Kwangtung's liberation last October. More than 20 years of Kuomintang misrule had sapped the economy of the entire province. Currency inflation and exorbitant taxation had brought untold suffering; criminal negligence of conservancy left floods unchecked and millions of peasants were destitute and homeless. Gangs of bandits were ravaging the villages and production had fallen to a new low.

Before they left, the KMT reactionaries took care to make things as difficult as possible for the people's government. In addition to blowing up godowns and munition dumps, dynamiting railway and highway bridges, seizing all available motorcars and vessels, they planted spies and saboteurs in the cities and units of roving brigands in the countryside. In one single day of last October, when the people's government had just assumed control in Canton, over 80 cases of atrocities were reported in the city, many of them committed in broad daylight.

That there were many difficult problems to be faced in Kwangtung, no one knew better than the Central People's Government. To cope with the situation, they sent General Yeh Chien-ying, then mayor of Peking and one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, to administer this area.

Fight on Three Fronts

When the people's government was set up, it had to fight on three fronts at the same time: military, political and economic. Chief among the tasks it set itself were the extermination of the Kuomintang remnant army, the establishment of revolutionary order and the resumption of land and water communications.

Wiping out the KMT army in Kwangtung was a comparatively easy matter. Hungry, ill-disciplined and utterly demoralized, it simply melted away. Even Liu An-chi's troops, reputedly the best in Kwangtung, were quickly routed.

The Cantonese were used to thinking of soldiers as a real pest, but they were greatly surprised and pleased with the bravery and excellent discipline of the People's Liberation Army. Everywhere the PLA went, they met with the warmest welcome. Thus, the way was paved for the successful operation of the new administration.

In the beginning the bandits were a major problem to the government and people alike. With KMT officers and reactionary landlords for ringleaders and nearby foreign ports for sources of supplies, they were the terror of the countryside. They held up cars and vessels, blew up bridges, ambushed PLA officers and men and even attacked outposts. Four months ago, the outskirts of Canton were infested with these marauders.

The situation changed gradually, however, as the peasants began to understand on which side their interests lay. Reduction of rent and loans for the purchase of seeds and fertilizers opened their eyes to the true intent of the government. Of their own free will, they supplied the PLA with information, showed them the hideouts of the bandits, and even trussed up individual outlaws and handed them over. Now the bandits are only a minor nuisance except in the southern districts, where they are getting supplies from Pai Tsung-hsi (Pai Chung-hsi) in Indo-China.

Another victory for the government was the rapidity with which communications were restored. Just two months after liberation, trains were running between Hankow and Canton. The Pearl River, formerly swarming with pirates, is now free of such trouble-makers. The highway linking the central districts with the southern ones, a distance of over 300 miles, was repaired in six months, although four years of American aid to the KMT had failed to do it.

Politically, the people's government has scored one success after another. The most significant, perhaps, is the organization of the peasants. Illiteracy and ignorance of outside conditions after decades of feudal rule made them fear everyone, and every effort at reform looked like courting disaster. When the first working unit went into the West Village in the suburb of Canton, all the peasants fled.

As this article is being written, over 500 representatives of the peasants throughout the province are gathered in the magnificent Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall to discuss the forthcoming land reform. Half a year's liberation has given them confidence and they stand up manfully to claim their due.

Workers Organized

In the organization of workers, the people's government found it easier going. Though poorly educated and often illiterate, the workers in Canton had a better stock of knowledge than their brethren in the countryside. Moreover, underground Communists had long been active in the plants and factories, disseminating progressive ideas and arousing the class consciousness of the workers.

Today, in Canton alone, over 20,000 workers have joined unions, and more will be following soon. On May Day all the workers in the city paraded. In a meeting sponsored by the local writers' union, a plumber delivered a meaningful speech calling upon the authors to serve the workers and telling them how.

The honesty of the new government is the marvel of everyone. In the province, the cadres are known as people who hold meetings every night and eat only vegetables. For a whole month's work, they receive a salary of only 114 *catties* of rice, or roughly HK$20. They go only to the cheapest restaurants and never accept invitations to feasts. Once in a while some weak person might succumb to a bribe, but the punishment meted out is both swift and stern.

After the liberation of Canton, thousands of the old KMT staff joined the training centers. A friend of mine who served in the bogus municipal government told me that he was shamed into honesty and conscientiousness. At Southern University, headed by the famous theorist Chen Wei-shih, one spy after another gave himself up and promised to serve the people with all his heart thereafter.

In most of the districts, the old *pao changs* and *chia changs* (local officials) have been fired, and honest, efficient young people have taken over. Corporal punishment is no longer tolerated. The policemen are polite and amiable and they strictly correct any violation of regulations but without harsh words or ill feelings.

The assembly of the people's representatives in Canton has been convened twice. At the first meeting, workers, peasants, merchants and industrialists all rubbed shoulders in the same hall, working harmoniously together. *Tangia*, the boatmen on the Pearl River who were considered the lowest class and resembled somewhat the untouchables in India, saw their kin sitting by the side of the wealthiest and most influential.

Battle of Currencies

Beginning the end of March, commodity prices started to fall—something unheard-of in the past 12 years. In May all merchants marked their prices down around 20 percent and little change in prices has been seen since.

Although the success of the government's financial policy has been proved all over the country, it is in Kwangtung that one sees it most clearly. Here the fight is the toughest because foreign imperialist influence, especially British, is the strongest. Before liberation, even in the villages, prices were quoted not in KMT currency but in Hongkong dollars.

There were many obstacles confronting the People's Bank when it started reforming this province's financial structure. In several districts, the new notes were no sooner issued than they were returned. Immediately after a clerk or a factory hand received his wages, he hurried to the retailer to get his money's worth, the retailer rushed to the wholesaler to restock his shelves, and the wholesaler in turn went to the exchange market to convert the "wet firewood" (the name they used in referring to the new currency) into foreign currency or gold.

At first the government bank fought one losing battle afer another. Last October, prices doubled within several days. In February this year, the same thing happened again. Toward the end of 1949 the govern-

ment closed around 130 underground banks and arrested some 600 people, but still prices continued to jump. "You can arrest our men," the speculators said sardonically, "but only God can arrest the dropping dollar."

By the end of March, the falling dollar was arrested—and without God's help. The official rate then was JMP6,000 for one Hongkong dollar, but the blackmarket rate was only JMP5,500. It has remained so ever since.

As confidence in the JMP rose at home and abroad, more remittances from overseas have been received. In Toishan alone, the first five months of this year saw US$15,000,000 arriving from America. Most of the remittances were handled by government banks or private banks designated by the government, rather than through foreign banks.

Another indication of the success of the government's financial policy is the favorable balance of trade. This was achieved by encouraging exports and prohibiting or restricting the import of non-essential goods. However, the change in popular taste is also a decisive factor. Nylon stockings and costly foreign dress materials are no longer in demand, and cognac and Virginia cigarettes meet with few customers. The result is a sizable surplus of exports over imports. In March it amounted to HK$6,635,580.05. In May, the ratio between exports and imports was three to one.

Industry Encouraged

With regard to home industry, the government policy is one of protection and encouragement. To safeguard local producers, matches from Macao and other foreign ports are banned, and the industrialists are provided with generous loans for revolving funds. Up to the present, the People's Bank in Canton has loaned JMP45,120,870,000 and another JMP 22,500,000,000 has been earmarked for the same purpose.

Production in government-owned factories is increasing rapidly. For example, sugar production, the most important item in the government program this year, is reported to have reached 15,000 metric tons. From one picul of sugar cane, the Shuntak refinery succeeds in extracting 10.06 *catties* of sugar, while in pre-war years it was only 9.2 *catties*.

Private industries, too, are gradually improving. It is true that after liberation many factories in Canton were in financial straits and closed down or temporarily ceased operation. This was mainly due to their shortage of capital, backwardness of technology, the incompetency of management, and especially lack of planning in production.

On the other hand, many factories are now operating at a profit. Outstanding among these are chemical works, weaving and dyeing mills, oil refineries, rubberware producers and rice grinders. From January 25 to May 16, 116 applications were made in Canton for permission to open new factories. If the picture is dismal for some, for others it is bright enough.

In the field of agriculture the picture is brighter, though predictions are that this year's crop will be no larger than that of 1949. The people's government is bending its greatest efforts to aid the farmers, for this is primarily an agricultural province.

Generous loans have been issued to needy farmers, especially to those whose products constitute the most important items in the province. The jute growers in the south have been allotted 5,000 market piculs of paddy; the silkworm breeders in the central districts, 20,000 market piculs; the sugar cane growers in the Pearl and Han River basins, 7,000 and 5,000 market piculs respectively.

The Water Conservancy Board is now carrying on a concerted fight against the floods. For a number of years floods have been a curse in Kwangtung. In 1947, 12,000,000 *mow* of farmland were inundated and 617,000 people made destitute. The next year over 30 districts were partly submerged and 3,000,000 peasants were affected. Last year the floods came again, destroying the crops of 35 districts and depriving 1,500,000 people of subsistence.

True to their tradition, the rivers rose toward the end of April of this year. Within two weeks they were at dangerous levels, threatening the crops of millions of acres. The most serious was the Funglok Dike, the biggest along the West River. With a total length of 41 kilometers, it protected two districts. Toward the end of April the water level rose at an unprecedented speed, threatening 160,000 *mow* of paddy fields and the livelihood of 54,000 people.

To fight the oncoming flood, the government rushed to the dike 1,000 PLA men equipped with 10,000 earth-carriers, 700 oxen, six barges and 50,000 gunny bags. In addition, seven engineers, 19 technicians and 100 supervisors were sent. The fight against the floods lasted ten consecutive days, reaching its climax on May 5 when the water level was only 45 centimeters from the top of the earth wall. The next day the water receded.

Looking back after half a year's liberation, one cannot help feeling surprised and awed. Within a matter of 180 days the KMT regime which preyed upon the people for over 20 years has been routed. Peace has been restored, bandits mostly wiped out and railway, motor and water communications completely restored, in fact, greatly improved. Commodity prices have been stabilized. Foreign currencies, especially Hongkong currency, have been driven out of the open market and a favorable balance of trade is reported.

Industry is gradually recovering, farmers are provided with seeds and fertilizers, and the unprecedented spring floods have been successfully combatted. Above all, the workers have assumed leadership and the peasants have shaken off their feudal shackles.

In the short period of six months, feudalism and colonialism in Kwangtung have been shaken, though still not entirely uprooted.

— *WANG TSUNG-YEN*

Five-Year Seed Improvement Plan

This year marks the inauguration of a five-year plan of seed selection and improvement that will raise crop yields, The plan envisages high-quality seed for the whole country by 1955.

* * *

WITH the buying of more than 14,000 tons of good quality wheat seed by state-owned seed companies, the first shot has been fired in the Ministry of Agriculture's five-year campaign to transform the quality of seed used throughout the country. Seed companies have already begun operating in ten provinces.

Local conditions have been studied, and the selection of seed is being carried out according to the varying needs of agricultural areas. Thus, rust-resistant varieties of seed are needed in Hopei and Pingyuan. The qualities required in Shansi and Chekiang are resistance to pests and capacity to stand up to hard natural conditions.

Seed-selection committees have been set up in many provinces, with organization progressing in other areas. At present, high quality seed is scarce, and the chief task of the seed-selection committees is to teach the principles of selection to the mass of the peasants. Shantung has so far the best committee organization, with committees not only on the provincial, but also on the county, district, and even village level. Provincial seed companies are permitted to exchange grain for seed at a favorable ratio, to encourage the peasants to improve their seed. Experimental farms are concentrating their efforts upon the production of more and better varieties of seed.

The seed-selection committees, composed of experienced farmers, agricultural experts and members of peasant associations, teach the peasants to compare the yields of different seeds with great care. In many areas, preliminary seed selection has developed to a remarkable degree at the village level. Seed so selected is then sent for further examination to higher committees. Next year, this seed will be extensively developed on county seed farms.

It is planned that the quantity of improved seed will be great enough to make it widely available by 1952. Final selection will be made in 1953, when seed will be sown on county and special seed farms. By 1955, seed of the best quality, selected originally from the best local varieties, improved upon and crossed with resistant varieties, tested and re-tested, will be available for farmers everywhere in China.

Night School for Tientsin Workers

The teachers or Mu Chai School learned much when organizing night classes. The enrollment of nearly 500 worker-students shows the success of the project.

THE Tientsin Workers' Night School No. 55 was organized early in March by a group of Mu Chai School teachers and members of the Bureau of Education. The teachers, inexperienced in adult education and knowing nothing of workers, opened the school and waited for students. Only three showed up. The teachers then energetically canvassed all the factories in the district, with the result that enrollment soon reached a total of 380 students. Soon, however the number of students sagged to 280; many of those who dropped out had joined for reasons other than learning. But after another campaign, the teachers increased the enrollment to the present total of 484 industrious students. In fact, the school has become so successful that it is beginning to draw students from other schools.

Public and private, primary and junior high school teachers of Tientsin, together with representatives of the Local Bureau of Education, at a meeting held on March 9, proposed a night school project for factory workers. It was decided that courses should include reading and writing characters, mathematics, general science, history and geography. Geometry, chemistry and physics were to be taught in the higher grades.

Compensation was also worked out at the meeting. Primary teachers were to receive three *catties* of millet per extra class hour, and junior high school teachers four *catties*. Participating schools were to receive 30 *catties* of millet per month for each class, to cover the added cost to the school for water, light, etc.

The teachers responded enthusiastically to the proposal. Of Mu Chai's 32 high school teachers, 23 volunteered on the spot. And, although the school's primary teachers were already giving two hours daily without pay to the free school project, three out of nine also volunteered. In addition, four high school students promised to help.

Little Response

The teachers, having worked out the many problems of organization, were at length ready for pupils. They waited for the anticipated stream of worker-students, but although other similar schools reported classes in full swing, by the end of the month No. 55 had exactly three students.

The staff felt anxious and ashamed. The district education chief was displeased, and the staff members were angry and hurt because, after all their efforts, the workers didn't show up. They decided that one of the reasons for the lack of response was that the factories in the area were small and the workers less well organized than in other areas. They had been too complacent; they had expected the workers to come flocking to them, simply because they had something good and were willing to share it.

The author of this article, Carrie Lu, is superintendent of the Mu Chai School in Tientsin, in which the Tientsin No. 55 Workers' Night School was established. The number of night schools and other types of spare time schools for workers is growing rapidly throughout China. To date the greatest progress has been made in the Northeast, in many sections of which illiteracy has been all but wiped out among workers, and in North China, where great progress has been made in the last year.—Editor.

Evidently, action was needed. The staff resolved to wait no longer for pupils, but to go out and talk to the workers in the factories. They got out the telephone book and checked it so as not to miss a single factory. The teachers and students organized ten teams to go out and try to sell the idea of education to the workers. Within a week, the factory-visiting campaign had resulted in the enrollment of 380 students, and the night school was a going concern at last.

The worker-students ranged in age from 12 to 53, and represented 45 different trades, including railway transportation, hauling, weaving, milling and peanut sorting. No entrance examination was required, but each student was asked to classify himself for the grade for which he thought he was qualified. The staff discovered that this self-classification had in most cases been done carefully and honestly; very few of the students had either over- or under-estimated their ability.

So many of the workers entered the first grade that it was overcrowded, so it was divided into a men's and women's section. With the two first grade sections, there were seven primary classes, three first year junior high school sections, one section for the second year and one section for the third.

A difficulty was encountered in the time schedule. At first, classes were set for five evenings a week, from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m., but many students came late to classes and were irregular in attendance. The staff made more trips to the factories to inquire into the reasons for this. They found that, while most working days ended between 5 and 6 o'clock, many workers attending the school didn't get off until class time, or even later. These workers were thus faced with the difficult choice between school and supper. Some, working long hours had to return to work after classes. The staff decided to start classes 10 minutes later; the other problems could be resolved only through stimulation of the workers' interest and cooperation with factory management.

By mid-May, enrollment had fallen to 280, and the staff began another check into the whys and wherefores. One factor was wide changes in demand for labor. With price stabilization, for example, there was no work for the banknotes printing plant in Tientsin, so 2,000 workers, among them some students of the night school, had been transferred to Suiyuan, Tsinan and Peking to other jobs.

There were other reasons for the drop in school enrollment. It was found that some workers had "joined up" out of curiosity; for social reasons, such as finding a girl or boy friend; or in an effort to "please the boss." Many, who enrolled from such motives, found that they weren't accomplishing their aims, and so dropped out. This did not discourage the staff; it showed that insincere students were voluntarily leaving the school, which left room for others who were really anxious to learn.

A new drive was then launched to extend the school program and put it on a firm basis. Each student pledged himself to bring one new student to school—whose sincere desire to study he could guarantee. Banners were awarded to the classes with the best records for attendance and promptness. Owing to the nature of their work, only railway workers on the night shift were excused, and then only on presentation of an absence slip from their boss.

Students Organize

About this time, the teachers called a meeting and explained to the workers why it was that they had always before been denied their right to education. They explained that the People's Government wanted everyone to learn and was spending money for this purpose, even at such an early and difficult stage of national reconstruction. The workers were moved and resolved to renew their efforts to study and learn. At this time too, a spontaneous self-organization and mutual help movement arose among the students. They organized their own Student Association and formed themselves into groups of 10. Each group elected a group leader. In this way, the students came to know each other better and began to learn how to work out problems mutually.

In June, representatives of the Ministry of Education visited the workers' night schools in Tientsin and asked those in charge for progress reports. The staff of No. 55, looking back over the first three months, realized how many conflicting factors there had been at first, and how some of these had been cleared away. Most serious had been the mutually suspicious attitude between teachers and workers. The teachers had never been near workers before the night school project; in fact, they hadn't even dealt with adult pupils. It took the teachers two months to discover how deeply enthusiastic the workers were, how zealous to learn, and what rapid progress they made. As the teachers began to appreciate the positive qualities of their pupils, the latter's

distrust of the teachers began to disappear, and began to be replaced by friendliness. It was only then, the staff realized, that the school really got down to work.

Another problem had concerned the political science classes. These formal sessions, originally scheduled for Wednesdays, were at first unpopular and they had been discontinued. Workers who heard political lectures at their factories felt that course redundant, while those who had heard no such lectures couldn't understand them, and they refused to come to the next class.

Another difficulty, one that still awaits a full solution, is that of getting the full cooperation of factory managements, so that workers can get off regularly for classes. Small employers especially have no appreciation of the value to themselves of having their employees educated. The staff feels that this is the most urgent problem at present.

Increased Enrollment

As a result of the last campaign for new students, and of the improved school organization, by June 1 there were 484 students hard at work at No. 55, including 101 women. Classes are stabilized and the work is progressing smoothly. Saturday nights, although no classes are held, many students come to the school anyway. They cooperate with the regular day pupils in editing the "mosquito news," in cleaning the buildings and grounds or they play basketball together.

June 6 was Teachers' Day. For the occasion, the night school pupils had commemorative badges made, and proudly presented them to their teachers at a meeting held after classes. The pupils tried to show their appreciation for the teachers' hard work. In addition to the regular night classes, the teachers give their time freely and patiently to the pupils who need extra help or who have missed classes, often staying until after 11 o'clock.

The success of No. 55 Workers' Night School, which saw such pitiful beginnings, is measured by the fact that students are now coming to it from other schools.

— *CARRIE LU*

Men plough, women weave *Su Kung*

A Play by a Worker, About Workers, for Workers—and Others

Not a Cicada

Reviewed by Max Bickerton

IF "The Song of the Red Flag"* was the first play about workers to be performed publicly in China, "Not a Cicada" carries the process one stage further, and becomes the first play *by a worker* about workers. It is by Wei Lien-chen, a worker in the Shihchiachuang Railway Workshops, and was performed at the Peking Youth Palace Theater for nine evenings from May 15.

The proof of a pudding is in the eating, and the proof of a play in the seeing, but I, taking a special interest in cuisine, always like to know after eating a good pudding, the secrets that went to its making, and similarly with a good play. But professional dramatists, even more than professional chefs, are jealous of their professional secrets. Here, however, we have a good play, and the writer, because he is not a professional playwright, but a manual worker, has, in an article in the "*Jen Min Jih Pao*" (May 7), called "How I Wrote 'Not a Cicada'," revealed the whole genesis of the play as it gradually took form in his mind.

* * *

LET us first see how the ideas came to him, and then see with what dexterity he fitted them into the finished play. He tells us that before the liberation, he had only four or five years' elementary schooling and was one of the most oppressed and looked-down-on of workers. After the liberation, through contact with the Communist Party, his political consciousness was awakened, making him feel more bitterly the hardships of his previous life, and imbuing him with a desire to help build the new society. During the Emulation Drive, in May 1949, he was disturbed to find a few of his mates grumbling about these new-fangled competitions. He was already a member of the drama group in the works, and they had performed several short sketches. The idea therefore came to him of helping these backward workers to reorientate themselves by putting on a sketch showing the reform of a backward worker. When he came to realize the work entailed in producing a play, he decided that it would be better to write a full-length one that solved several problems at one go. He thought of several supplementary themes, such as the Emulation Drive itself, over-fulfillment of production targets, the salvaging of scrap.

He next analyzed the reasons for workers being backward under four headings:—1) They didn't like study. 2) Their living conditions before the liberation had been comparatively better than the generality of workers. 3) They held too tenaciously to the ideas of the old society. 4) They associated too much with "*erh-liu-tzu*," ne'er-do-wells in the town. His hero would have to exemplify these traits.

Throughout the writing the author was circumscribed with limitations. He had to take into consideration the number of male and female actors in the group, and make sure to give each a part; he had to cut down the expenses of the production to a minimum. All art is a process of limitation, of selection, and I am not sure that part of the success of the play is not due to these very limitations. They made the young dramatist limit his canvas and they prevented him from being too ambitious, from biting off more than he could chew.

His own job in the works, as he explains, was to go round with a hammer tapping the wheels of the train before it started on its journey. But he could not put a locomotive on the stage, nor any other of the heavy machinery. A blacksmith's forge would be comparatively easy to rig up. There too was a man who would serve as a model for another character he needed to off-set the backward hero, the foreman of the blacksmiths, a very skilled and progressive worker called Pai Shih-fu.

He was then confronted with more difficulties. It would be invidious to take an actual worker as a model for the backward hero. Therefore he must create a composite character, taking bits from this one and that one. But if he placed this character in the forge, wouldn't the actual blacksmiths take offense? He went to Pai Shih-fu with his problem and Pai replied, "Go ahead. Stick him in among us. We've no objections."

* * *

THE origin of the title and of the cicada symbolism is interesting, because the cicada is not an accepted Chinese symbol for a lazy man. One lunch-hour, while the play was forming in his mind, Wei Lien-chen and his mates were holding a meeting under a tree to discuss problems of work. Just at the height of the discussion, a wretched cicada started singing at the top of the tree, almost drowning their voices. Time and again they tried to shoo it away, but each time it was silent for a moment, and then, as soon as they got back to their discussion, it started up its shrill song again. Finally, in desperation, one worker climbed up on the tree and caught it. "That cicada's paid dearly for his love of singing," mused Wei Lien-chen. "If he had been like the bee, who also loves to sing but who works hard too, gathering honey, people would have hesitated to kill him." Then the resemblance between the selfish cicada and the backward worker suddenly struck him, and he decided Mr. Cicada must have an important role in the play. But how to work him in? Give the backward worker the nickname of

**For a review of "The Song of the Red Flag" see May 13 China Weekly Review.*

"Cicada." But how would he come by such a nick-name? Make his original name sound like "Cicada." And so in the play the backward worker is called "Ma Shun-pao" which sounds very like the popular name for the cicada, "Ma-chi-liao." Still that wasn't a very nice epithet to brand a worker with, and so he would call the play "Not a Cicada."

A cicada is not a grasshopper, and a bee is not an ant, but I think it is a point of some interest that this young writer, who almost certainly had never heard La Fontaine's fable, should have hit on a parallel symbolism.

These then are the ingredients. Let us now turn to the finished product. The three acts and nine scenes of the comedy go with a swing from the start, and are bubbling over with humor. Critics are unanimous in praising the naturalness and vividness of the dialogue. The whole cast acts with a remarkable unity.

* * *

THE opening scene is outside the works in the lunch-hour on a hot day. On a tree, Mr. Cicada pierces the heavy air with his song. A worker enters and his attention is caught by the cicada. He is struck by the resemblances between it and Ma Shun-pao (Lao Ma), his backward work-mate, and laughingly explains these resemblances to a mischievous young apprentice, Hsiao Wang. They go off, and an old peasant carrying a sack of corn makes his entry and collapses from the heat. Pai Shih-fu discovers him and gives him a drink of water. The peasant is Lao Ma's father, and has come from the country to visit his son. In his village he is Chairman of the Village Association. After the old peasant has gone on his way, the swaggering hero, Lao Ma, enters and immediately starts bullying a cigarette vendor, and is only prevented from striking him by the entry of his work-mate and mortal enemy, Chang Chih-pin (Lao Chang).

The second scene is in the forge. Hsiao Wang, imitating the cry of the cicada, taunts Lao Ma with his new nick-name. In the ensuing scuffle, Lao Ma and Lao Chang (who, quite apart from political differences, feel a strong personal antagonism to one another), come to blows. The head of the department calms things down, and vainly tries moral suasion on Lao Ma. Left alone, Lao Ma decides to get a two-fold revenge on Lao Chang. He burns a hole in his treasured gumboots, and then, finding a pole for a crutch, pretends that Lao Chang has injured his leg so badly that he must have sick leave. The ruse succeeds. Pai Shih-fu and the head of the department always show more solicitude for this one erring sheep than for the whole of the rest of the flock, and, in spite of his laziness, he is a skilled worker. After Lao Ma limps off home, Pai Shih-fu and the others hammer out some iron bars on the anvil, with what must have been real virtuosity, because the audience, the second time I saw the play, on a Sunday night, consisted almost entirely of railway workers, and they gave the actors thunderous applause at this point.

Scene three, in Lao Ma's house, depicts in quick succession, stages in the Rake's Progress. Gambling with a couple of loafers from the town, Lao Ma loses all his possessions. His wife comes in, and is just as distressed as he is to see them carting off his brand-new Phillips bicycle, but she has borne too much, and turns on him and upraids him for his dissipation. During the quarrel, she discovers that his leg is not injured at all, and in disgust, packs up her things and goes home to mother.

A deputation of workers, headed by Pai Shih-fu, come in with a present for their sick comrade, but their sympathy is cut short when Hsiao Wang, having just heard the truth from Mrs. Ma, rushes in and gives the "injured" leg a terrific pull. Unmasked, Lao Ma has to promise to go back to work. The workers depart, the kindly Pai wanting to leave the present, but Hsiao Wang insisting on taking it back.

Lao Ma's father has overheard the conversation and is further furiously angry with his son for slacking when the work of re-opening the Peking-Hankow Railway is so vital to the peasants and to the whole country. Lao Ma apologizes, but his father says, "Don't apologize to me, but to the people," and he too takes back the sack of corn he has brought for his son and leaves him absolutely deserted.

Fed up to the teeth with his loafer friends and with the world in general, Lao Ma throws away his crutch in disgust, but he is still not ready to admit that his misfortunes are all his own making.

* * *

THE first scene of Act II finds Lao Ma back at work, but still unregenerate. He refuses to work overtime on a rush job of repairing freight cars. Lao Chang comes in breathing fire against him, but Pai Shih-fu tells him to be more tolerant. He has a new pair of gumboots, supposed to be bought by Lao Ma, but actually bought by Pai.

The head of the trade union tries, rather ineffectively, to win over Lao Ma. He tells him of the high standard of living Soviet workers have gained for themselves, but Lao Ma replies, "The Soviet Union, the Soviet Union, you're always jabbering about the Soviet Union, but how do I know what it's like there? I've never been there." "And you'll never know, unless you read, unless you study a bit," replies the trade union leader.

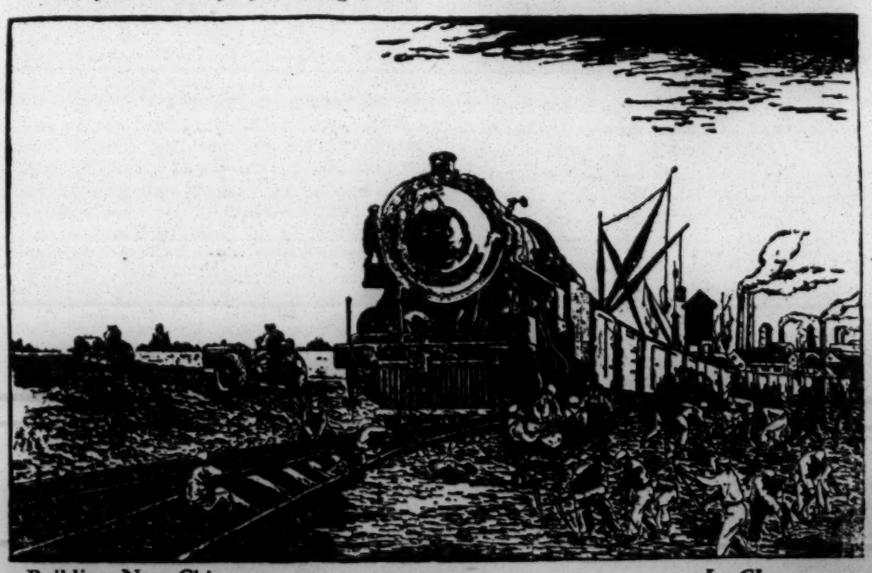
The head of the department next wrestles for the soul of Lao Ma, and tells him the fable of the cicada and the bee. Lao Ma listens with interest, but is still unconvinced.

It is left to Pai Shih-fu to bring about a change of heart in him, by telling him the story of his sufferings and struggles under the Japanese and the KMT, and contrasting them with present conditions. This story is described in two flash-backs.

The first shows Japanese Gendarmerie Headquarters. A typical Japanese gendarme struts across the stage. His typical puppet interpreter, with a whip in his hand, follows obsequiously behind. A worker is dragged on, interrogated, taken away and shot off-stage. Pai Shih-fu is brought on, bound and bleeding. The interpreter alternately questions and whips him. Pai Shih-fu shouts defiance at them, and is carried off into the torture-chamber. In the black-out Pai Shih-fu's voice is heard saying "For eleven months, eleven long months, I endured their tortures!"

The second flash-back shows the office of the works after the KMT has come back. Pai comes in to appeal against being demoted after twenty years of service. The dapper head of the department, pointing to a list, says that Pai should count himself lucky in not being dismissed like the workers on the list; his body is useless like theirs, their health having been ruined after having had a solution of cayenne pepper pumped into them by the Japanese. Glancing down the list, the head asks a clerk why some workers' names have been crossed out, and is told that it is because they have offered gifts to the management, including a bicycle for the head's daughter. Pai Shih-fu is filled with bitterness and desperation.

The scene returns to the works, with Pai Shih-fu finishing off his story. As the curtain falls, Lao Ma, who has evidently re-lived every moment of Pai's sufferings, is shown very deeply moved. From his own youth he too has suffered and still bears on his



Building New China — *Lo Chen-yuan*

face the scar where the landlord beat him when he was a child.

The fourth scene takes place in the office of the works on the day that red rosettes are to be presented to model workers. As Pai fixes the green leaves on the rosettes, Lao Ma, now a completely reformed worker, tells Pai how ashamed he is there is no rosette for him.

Lao Ma goes off and Pai practices the speech he is going to make at the meeting, and looks very sheepish when he is discovered by the head of the department. The head tells Pai he deserves a rosette for bringing about Lao Ma's reform, but Pai replies, "I am too old. They are for the young. My youth was spent in bitterness." The head then says, "You too should have one. It is more glorious for an old tree to burst into blossom than for a young one"—and wins great applause from the audience.

Only one unhappy thing remains: Lao Chang and Lao Ma still refuse to be reconciled. Pai Shih-fu, knowing that Lao Ma is very short of money, gives Lao Chang $3000 and persuades him to pretend it is a gift from himself. The other workers deliberately leave the two enemies together. Lao Chang proffers the money. "What's that for?" asks Lao Ma, "I don't want your money." "It's not my money," blurts out the honest Lao Chang, "It's Pai Shih-fu's. He gave it to me and told me to pretend that it was from me, so that we could make up and be friends." In spite of this gaffe, the ice is broken, and each vehemently asserts that he has been in the wrong. The workers all troop back, and the scene ends with Lao Ma jumping up on to Lao Chang and flinging his arms around his neck. With his legs straddled round Lao Chang, Lao Ma is carried off triumphantly.

* * *

THE first scene of the third act is a joyous one, showing Lao Ma moving house. His wife has come back to him; he has found new lodgings, and Lao Chang, now his bosom pal, is helping him to move. Hsiao Wang enters with a house-warming present from Lao Ma's mates. Lao Ma unwraps it excitedly, but is rather disgusted to find it is a huge and revolting drawing of a cicada. After enjoying his discomforture for a while, Hsiao Wang tells him to lift up the picture, and then, sure enough, underneath is a handsome drawing of Lao Ma, inscribed with the words, "We workers have strength."

Finally Lao Ma's father appears and is reconciled to his son.

One new problem has arisen. Pai Shih-fu is ill, but refuses to rest because he is worried lest they cannot fulfil their target of assembling low cars for carrying gravel for the rail bed because of a lack of nuts and bolts. Lao Ma suddenly remembers that during the Japanese occupation he once did a little sabotage and hid away in a scrap-heap several sacks of bolts. He and Lao Chang decide to salvage them that night, and he even asks his wife, now addressed as "Comrade," to help them.

The last scene takes place in the forge at daybreak the next morning. Lao Ma, his wife and Lao Chang have worked all through the night, first making the scrap-heap "fan shen" (literally "turn over its body" —the term universally used when landless peasants are given land and set on their feet), and later polishing the rust off the nuts and bolts and other useful things it yielded up. Pai Shih-fu comes in and is delighted with the result. In the course of the night, Lao Ma has really injured his leg, but this time he refuses to take any care of it. The other workers arrive and ask after Pai's health. Pointing to the big pile of sacks, Pai replies, "I'm all right now. These are my medicine. We can now fulfil our target!" Everyone praises Lao Ma and says he is now "not a cicada." As the curtain falls, they all sing, "Unity is Strength."

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THIS, then, is a bald synopsis of the play. The third time I saw it, one of the theater staff asked me if I would like to go back-stage and meet the actors. I explained that I was not a Soviet friend but only a British one, but he said that did not matter; I evidently appreciated the play or I would not have come three times. I was able to meet the producer, Cheng Ai-ling and all the cast. The author had been in Peking for the rehearsals at the end of April, but had gone back to his work in the railway. After I had congratulated them on the performance, they told me that none of them belonged to the railway workshops; they were all members of the Shihchiachuang Municipal Theater Group, but they had seen the original performance by the railway workers and had received great help from them. Previous to this full-length play, they had only performed short pieces. The young actor who gave a really wonderful performance of Lao Ma, for instance, said that he had only had six months acting experience. They were very gratified at the reception Peking audiences had given the play, and their hope was, after the close of this season, to follow the railway line and play at every place where there was a big railway depot.

As some critics had complained that the author did not make clear the deciding factor in Lao Ma's conversion, I asked the actor at which point exactly did he change his ideas, and he confirmed what I had thought, that it came immediately after Pai Shih-fu's moving recital of his past suffering, that it came in a flash almost of shame, that now they had at last got a decent government, it was too bad of him to refuse to pull his weight.

The actors were anxious for my criticisms, but the only one I could offer was that, in spite of the repeated talk of the need of "*hsüeh hsi*" (study), at no point in the play was any worker shown studying, either a political book, or learning characters.

Other weaknesses have been pointed out by critics, some of them common to "The Song of the Red Flag." It is not easy for a dramatist or for an actor to give a convincing portrayal of the new type of cadre, because he really is a new type of humanity. In Pai Shih-fu, Wei did succeed, and the actor played most convincingly a very fine type of Communist Party member, intelligent, skilled in his work, steeled in struggle, and full of humanity and tolerance, without a trace of "the infantile sickness of Left-Wing Communism." In the other two Communists, the head of the department, and the trade union leader, the author failed almost as badly as the authors of "The Song of a Red Flag" have done with two similar characters, their perpetually-grinning factory manager and their rather muddle-headed trade union leader.

Another weakness common to both plays is that all the workers are either outstandingly progressive or outstandingly backward; there are no representatives of the middle grade.

To introduce a provocative note into this review, I venture to say, although I would probably have all the critics down on me like a ton of bricks if they heard, that "Not a Cicada" is an infinitely better play than "The Song of the Red Flag," partly because the writer has a better natural sense of dramatic tempo, and partly because both writer and cast are closer to the working class. I am very ignorant of factory life, but I cannot believe that girls in a cotton factory are quite so glamorous, wear quite such new clothes, and quarrel quite so incessantly in such screeching voices as they do in "The Song of the Red Flag." It seems to me, that because of the sudden awakening of interest in the lives of workers, there may be a temporary danger of literary works being praised for the sheer novelty of their subject matter, even though they give an unrealistic picture of workers. But in China, where the atmosphere is now so charged with criticism as well as with creativeness, this can only be a temporary phase which will soon be rectified, and can never reach the proportions of the discrepancy which exists between actual American bourgeois life, and bourgeois life as glorified by Hollywood—a discrepancy which goes unnoticed by the majority of the American public.

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In concluding his article, Wei Lienchen said that he was very surprised when his play attracted attention outside the works, and at the same time he very modestly disclaimed the right to the title of author of the play in its present form, because it owed so much to the criticisms and suggestions of his fellow-workers, and to the help of Hung T'ao and Jen Kuei-lin of the Shihchiachuang Municipal Theater Group. But I have quoted enough of his own words to show that all the main ideas of the play were his. It is a symptom of the vast cultural ferment that is going on in China that so soon so promising a worker-playwright should have appeared. It has many parallels in other branches of art and literature. All the latent talent of the masses is now coming to the surface, and soon there will be no more mute, inglorious Miltons in China.

CHINA AFFAIRS

NATIONAL

Against US Aggression

JULY 17 saw the opening of a national campaign week against American aggression in Taiwan and Korea throughout China. The two main purposes of the campaign were to give the Chinese people a clearer picture of what the US is doing in the Far East and turn into practical action the powerful opposition to American aggression on Taiwan and support for the liberation war now going on in Korea.

At a meeting of 42 leaders of people's organizations held in Peking, Liu Ning-yi, representative of the All-China Federation of Labor, stated that the World Federation of Trade Unions had called on the working class of the world to set aside a week for the support of the Korean people.

"We firmly support this," he said. "But in view of China's position the All-China Federation of Labor feels we should go further and proposes that a nation-wide campaign week against US aggression in Taiwan and Korea should be launched."

All the representatives at the Peking meeting agreed to the proposal and suggested various ways of publicizing and extending the campaign so as to carry it to all strata of the people. A Chinese People's Campaign Committee against US Aggression in Taiwan and Korea was set up. The following eleven organizations were represented: The All-China Federation of Labor; the China Peace Committee; the All-China Democratic Youth Federation; the China New Democratic Youth League; the All-China Democratic Women's Federation; the All-China Students' Federation; the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles; the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association; the People's Relief Administration of China; the China People's Foreign Affairs Society; and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Governing League.

Jobs for Graduates

THE East China Ministry of Education has issued specific instructions to help allocate work to more than 6,000 college graduates in that area this summer.

Of the 6,487 East China college graduates, from 2,500 to 3,377 are to be employed in East China; 2,500 to 3,000 will get jobs in the Northeast; and 500 to 800 will go to work for the central government.

In the meantime, the Water Conservancy Directorate-General of the Northeast is calling for water conservancy, irrigation, and hydraulic experts for employment in the Northeast. There is also a demand for well-surveyors, statisticians and accountants.

In north China, more than 3,000 students from the eleven universities and colleges of that area have, since the beginning of the month, gone into summer vocational training. They have gone in groups to work in factories, mining centers, and various government enterprises. The students will work for two or three months as apprentices along with their professors.

This is the first time that students of higher education in China have been drawn into practical work during the summer vacation in such a large and planned manner. The aim of all this is to give these young intellectuals practical experience of work in factories and mines so as to help them link their theory with practice, in line with the new educational policy adopted at the recent national higher education conference. It is also intended to give the students a new outlook on labor and the working class.

A special committee to guide this work was set up by the Ministry of Education jointly with eighteen government financial and economic organizations and eleven colleges and universities in north China, including Peking, Tsinghua and Yenching universities.

East China Meeting

THE second plenary session of the East China Military and Administrative Committee was opened on July 14.

The inauguration speech was given by Jao Su-shih, chairman of the East China Military and Administrative Committee. Ma Ying-chu, vice-charman of the Committee, made an announcement on the agenda of the session. The meeting heard a report on the spirit and decision of the second meeting of the First National Committee of the PPCC made by Pan Han-nien, Committee member, and the report on the "Struggle for the Completion of the Agrarian Reform in the East China Area" made by Chairman Jao.

In his opening speech, Chairman Jao stated: ". . . As pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the fundamental task confronting the people of our nation is to strive for a basic turn for the better in the financial and economic situation of the state and to achieve this, we must endeavor to create three conditions, of which the foremost and most fundamental is the completion of agrarian reform. Land relations in East China are comparatively complicated, and so we must be more careful in leading and directing the work of agrarian reform. Consequently, with a view to carrying out resolutely the agrarian reform law and policies of the Central People's Government, and insuring the systematic carrying out of agrarian reform in East China, with leadership and in an orderly manner, this problem should receive particularly careful deliberation at this meeting. . ."

Steady Prices

THE month of June saw the prices of 25 main commodities remain on an even keel throughout the nation. Transactions in essential goods increased considerably during the month as compared with May, according to a *Hsinhua* dispatch from Peking.

Although the new wheat crop arrived in the market, the prices of grain dropped only 2.8 percent during the first 10 days of June, rose three percent during the second 10 days, and rose another .04 percent during the last 10 days of the month. Such a steadiness in the price of staple grain has protected the interests of millions of wheat growers in China, reports *Hsinhua*.

Meanwhile, the price of yarn and cloth rose slightly during June as a result of deliberate readjustment of prices by the state cotton company. During the previous months, because of the sudden withdrawal from the market of speculative capital, hoarders threw their yarn onto the market, as in Shanghai and Tientsin, causing the price to fall below producing costs. However, the efforts of the state cotton company have brought the price of cotton and yarn into normal proportion, a prerequisite for the recovery of the textile industry.

There was a considerable lowering in the price of salt as a result of the 50 percent cut in the salt tax as of June 1. The price of fuel rose slightly during June. Transactions in essential goods—flour, rice and cloth—increased. In Shanghai, the rice sold during the last 10 days of June was nearly treble the amount sold during the first 10 days. According to *Hsinhua*, this signifies that people have used up stored goods and buying power is returning to normal.

Cattle Protection

EFFECTIVE livestock protection measures are being taken in various provinces in central and south China to fight against cattle disease and improve the condition of draft animals.

The past spring season witnessed large-scale veterinary work which had never before been seen in these provinces. Inoculation of animals was carried out wholesale, with veterinary teams and medical stations set up in every province. An outbreak of cattle plague, which occurred in Honan during the spring, was swiftly checked by the government veterinary workers.

Veterinary supplies are ensured by the growing production of vaccine and serum factories which have been set up or restored in a number of provinces. In various provinces the killing of able-bodied draft animals has been made a penal offense and large sums of money have been set aside by the local government to encourage the breeding and protection of draft animals.

Movie Regulations

A FOUR-POINT provisional measure governing the licensing of new movies, censorship of old movies, both imported and domestic, and the export and import of movies has been announced by the Ministry of Culture in Peking.

All movies produced by duly registered motion picture producing companies will be issued licenses for screening in all cities in China. The license is valid for a two year period.

During the screening of movies the cultural organs are authorized to censor the movie and to determine whether it is in contravention to the principles of the Central People's Government. If a film is found to be in the latter category, the cultural organs have the power to petition the Ministry of Culture for appropriate action on the movie.

All imported films and domestic productions already in circulation are subject to censorship. If any film is found to be in contravention to the principles of world peace, the people's democracy, the interest of the Chinese people, or is immoral, superstitious, or agitative, or against the new social order, it is subject to cutting or complete prohibition.

Regarding imported movies, registered motion picture companies may apply for import permits for shipment of foreign films or Chinese films produced in Hongkong and other foreign localities. An imported film is subject to censorship by the Motion Picture Bureau (which also subjects films for export to censorship). In applying for a screening license the dialogue and synopsis of the picture in its original language must be submitted together with translated Chinese copies and Customs clearance papers.

The Week's Business

Of the 72 banking houses in Shanghai, 49 netted profits for the first half of the year. Many retail shops are also reporting profits, which have been brought about by the government's measures to adjust the margin between wholesale and retail prices.

* * *

COMMODITY prices during the week under review from July 13 to 19 recorded slight increases, as the parity unit moved up from JMP5,178 to JMP5,187, with the margin of fluctuation being very narrow. During the week domestic remittance rates were reduced, while railway and shipping rates were also lowered, which contributed considerably toward the promotion of interflow of supplies between urban and rural areas. The reduction in the freight rates ranged from 14.7 percent for shipping up-stream on the Yangtse to 36.9 percent for shipping down-stream, while passenger rates were slashed by 20 percent. Railway freight rates for foodstuffs were greatly reduced.

In the local commodity markets, the quotation of 6's yarn rose considerably more than 20's yarn owing to brisk demand, but still the sharp rise was considered abnormal. Through efforts of the Shanghai Cotton, Cotton Yarn and Cotton Cloth Corporation to regulate supply and demand, the bullish development in the cotton yarn market was finally brought under control.

The financial market ruled quiet. According to results made known from the semi-annual settlement of accounts, the major portion of financial establishments in Shanghai netted profit for their operations during the first half of the current year.

According to available statistics, there are altogether 72 banking houses in Shanghai, including banks jointly operated by public and private interests, private banks, native banks and trust companies. Of this number, 49 banks netted profits for the first half of the current year, and the remaining 23 carried losses. Of the four banks jointly operated by public and private interests, three operated at profits; while one incurred slight losses, but when figures for the latter's outport branches are considered, an overall profit was still carried.

Among the 35 private banks, 22 netted profits for the first half of the current year, and 13 reported losses. Of the 30 native banks, 22 operated with profit, and eight with losses; and of three trust companies, two netted profits and one sustained losses.

Of the 49 local banking institutions that carried profits for the January-June period of the current year, three banks carried profits ranging from JMP1,000,000,000 to JMP5,000,000,000; five had profits ranging from JMP500,000,000 to JMP1,000,000,000; 22 had profits ranging from JMP100,000,000 to JMP500,000,000; seven had profits ranging from JMP50,000,000 to JMP100,000,000; seven had profits ranging from JMP10,000,000 to JMP50,000,000; and four had profits below JMP10,000,000. The largest profit netted by one bank was JMP5,600,000,000.

Various retailers of commodities in Shanghai, meanwhile, have reported improved business since the beginning of June.

The basic cause for the general turn of the situation for the better is traced to the recovery of purchasing power of the public and the steps taken by the government in readjusting the margin between wholesale and retail prices. These government measures have assured reasonable profit to retailers, while at the same time boosted their confidence in their business.

Before the readjustment, the difference between the wholesale and retail prices of rice was only JMP5,000 per picul, while transport expenses and taxes averaged JMP8,000 per picul. Readjustment in prices changed the situation, so that in June rice retailers in town sold more of their own rice than the government-supplied food staple.

Quotations

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices.

	July 12 JMP	July 19 JMP
Parity unit	5,178	5,181
US dollar (TT)	35,000	35,000
20's yarn	5,500,000	5,500,000
42's yarn	8,240,000	8,260,000
12-lb. cloth	240,000	—
Rice, 1st grade	256,000	250,000
Battleship flour	—	58,000
Peanut oil	485,000	495,000
Coal briquette	17,500	16,500
Kerosene, Kuokwang	120,000	—
Koo Pan soap	244,000	225,000

SHANGHAI

Millions for Peace

INCOMPLETE statistics as of mid-July revealed that 3,311,514 residents of Shanghai had signed the Stockholm peace appeal. The people of Shanghai demonstrated a strong determination to defend world peace, according to an announcement of the Shanghai Branch of the China Committee for the Defense of World Peace.

Ever since the Shanghai branch began its drive for peace signatures back in May the campaign has mounted in intensity. By the end of June a total of 1,009,014 signatures had been collected. The first week in July saw the launching of world peace week and hundreds of people participated in the publicity work during that week. Through diverse forms of activity, including speeches, forums, street plays, popular entertainment, pamphlets, and motion pictures, the peace campaign and signature collection reached deeply into the ranks of the organized and unorganized masses of Shanghai.

Following America's open war participation in South Korea and use of the Seventh Fleet to prop up Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, more and more Shanghai people signed the peace appeal. In the opinion of the Shanghai Branch of the China Committee for the Defense of World Peace the 3,311,514 signers of the Stockholm appeal represent a powerful force which encourages all the millions throughout the world fighting for peace.

Workers Oppose US

A RALLY of Shanghai workers in opposition to American aggression in Taiwan and Korea was held on July 18. The rally was sponsored by the Shanghai General Labor Union, which represents about 1,000,000 workers in the city.

The rally called on all workers in Shanghai to step up production and to make other practical efforts to support the liberation of Taiwan and Korea. It also decided to send messages of greeting to the Korean workers as well as the Korean people in their present struggle against aggression.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KOREA

Americans Hard Pressed

THE third week of war in Korea saw the North Koreans continue to advance along the whole front. Despite heavy US-Australian air cover, hard-pressed American troops and South Koreans were rolled back by North Korean men and tanks. The North Koreans had swarmed across the strategic Kum river and were attempting to draw a noose around the American-held provisional South Korean capital of Taejon.

As had been predicted by many observers, the South Korean army turned out to be of little use. As the battle for Taejon mounted in intensity, General MacArthur's Tokyo headquarters admitted that new North Korean thrusts represented a setback for the American troops. The Taejon airstrip was reported as unsafe. It was reported that the double-tracked railway from Taejon south was busy, but the track beyond the town had been practically abandoned.

From the American headquarters in Taejon there was little optimism that the North Korean attack had spent its force. A communique warned: "The North Koreans are capable of applying pressure to the front and of employing envelopment or wider encirclement." There already were reports that American troops had laid plans to quit the temporary capital if reinforcements came too little and too late.

Meanwhile, one American battalion was encircled and completely wiped out by the Korean People's Army south of Chunan despite heavy bombing and strafing by American planes, according to a communique of the KPA general headquarters. In liberating the Tanyang county seat in north Chwangchung province the KPA reported a large number of enemy troops were killed, wounded and taken prisoner, and large quantities of military equipment captured.

US Tanks Used

According to a *UP* dispatch from Tokyo, American forces used tank units for the first time in Korea in a battle north of Taejon. These tanks fell back in the face of heavy KPA attacks and all were lost with the exception of two. According to the same dispatch, as the number of US troops began to thin out under heavy artillery fire, they eventually evacuated their positions which had been secured by the tank units in their counter-offensive for a heavy price. One US company had a total of 148 men when they were transferred to Korea from Japan, but within two weeks there were only about 30 left. *UP* claimed that 80 percent of the troops deserted on the battlefield.

A KPA military communique said that south of Wutzeyan in south Chwangchung province more than 700 Americans were killed and 500 captured. In addition, 15 US tanks and five armored cars were destroyed. Four tanks and more than 1,000 automatic infantry pieces and a large quantity of anti-tank guns and other war trophies were seized.

Guerilla activity behind the South Korean lines was reported to be playing an important role in stopping the Americans. Operating in close coordination with the North Korean army, the guerillas were effectively obstructing the transportation of arms and troops by the Americans. According to the *Korean Central Telegraph Agency*, enemy troop movements were paralyzed by guerilla activities in the Swunchun and Kwangyang areas in south Zunra province. Guerilla forces called on their fellow countrymen in the enemy-controlled area to use every means to prevent American arms from moving northward and refuse to carry out the orders of Syngman Rhee's "puppet troops" and police to repair highways and bridges.

POW Treatment

THE People's Army General Headquarters of the Korean People's Democratic Republic denounced General MacArthur's claim of ill-treatment of captured US troops. The Korean statement said:

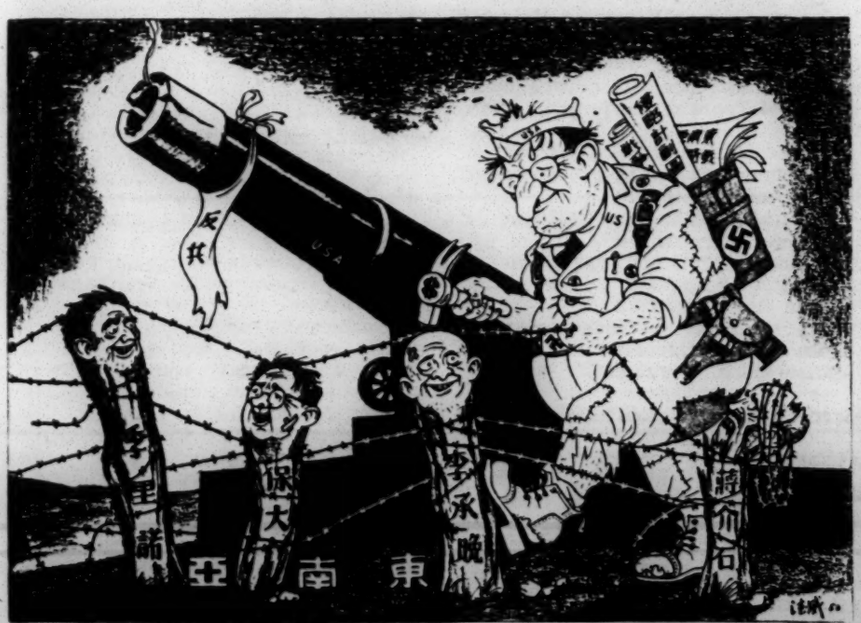
"According to an American broadcast of July 12, MacArthur's Headquarters made a statement in which he blatantly asserted that the People's Army of our Republic had murdered American prisoners. This is without the slightest foundation of fact. The General Headquarters of the People's Army of the Korean People's Democratic Republic hereby makes this refutation. The American imperialists fabricate such groundless news with the purpose of threatening the US servicemen whom they have forced to intervene in Korea's internal affairs. We hereby state that the People's Army of the Korean People's Republic is treating war prisoners in accordance with the principles of humanitarianism and the rules of international law."

Long, Costly Struggle

FROM Washington came reports that the American government was becoming reconciled to a long and costly war in Korea. Unless there was an increase in the amount of military supplies being shipped to European allies it was believed that it might be necessary to "borrow" for the Far East weapons originally destined for Europe.

From the beginning of the civil war in Korea on June 25 until July 9 the Korean People's Army had advanced about 110 miles into the southern part of Korea. The KPA had liberated more than one-third of the cities and villages in south Korea.

In Washington the Pentagon was advised by MacArthur's headquarters that the situation of American ground forces in Korea "is not considered serious in any way." At the same time, President Truman in a press conference, while stating that the situation in Korea would work out all right, refused to answer a number of questions on the actual military picture in Korea. From Taiwan, one of the smaller papers in Taipeh, *The People's Daily*, said MacArthur had urged Washington to arm and equip 10 KMT divisions in Taiwan for the defense of the island.



"Rotten Poles" is the title of this caricature from the magazine Cartoon which depicts America attempting to encroach upon Asia through a policy of anti-communism and her four "allies" in a southeast Asia alliance. The four "poles", from left to right, are Quirino, Bao Dai, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek.

USSR on UN Role

MOSCOW papers sharply criticized the role played by the United Nations in Korea. *Pravda* stated that most British, French and American papers were trying to by-pass the "most important conclusion"—that drawn by Andrei Gromyko when he said the UN would fulfil its peace mission when it ordered the end of American intervention in Korea.

Izvestia claimed the Americans were doing their utmost to cover their aggression with the UN flag and to use the organization directly to unleash war. The paper's diplomatic correspondent stated that the recent visit to Japan of John Foster Dulles, Republican adviser to the State Department, gave the sign for the South Korean forces to invade the north last month. The writer stated it had become obvious that Britain and France and the other North Atlantic Pact countries had pledged their support for American aggression in Asia during the "Big Three" Western Foreign Ministers' Conference and the meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

MALAYA

More Help Coming

BRITAIN is getting ready to give further financial assistance to her dollar-producing Malayan colony. At the same time, according to Colonial Secretary James Griffiths, recruitment for the police and civil administration in Malaya was going along satisfactorily.

Mr. Griffiths declared that the progress against the insurgents in Malaya had not been hampered by the lack of funds. Making no mention of recent "difficulties" in Malaya, the Colonial Secretary stated: "It is our intent in providing further assistance, to pay full regard both to the needs of the emergency and the social and the economic development of Malaya."

While Griffiths was talking to Commons, reports from Singapore revealed that the tide of guerilla war in Malay was on the rise. May, the high-water mark in guerilla incidents, witnessed 509 such fracases, according to an official statement from Kuala Lumpur.

The figure has steadily mounted this year, with 145 in January, 225 in February, 290 in March and 380 in April. Although the June figures had not been released, they were expected to show a further upward tendency in the number of police and soldiers killed by guerillas.

British Command Shake-up

AN important shake-up in the British army command in Malaya was announced from Singapore. It was believed the change resulted from the recent visit by Field-Marshal Slim, Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

At the same time, from Penang, it was announced that air power in Malaya is fully prepared to meet any crisis. Air Marshall Fogarty said that jet planes would be sent to Malaya to help build up her air force.

THE WEST

No US Oil to China

AMERICAN oil companies have agreed to suspend shipment of all types of petroleum products to the Chinese mainland, in order to prevent their being used to the advantage of the North Korean military forces, according to a US State Department disclosure. The State Department said the action was taken in response to a Department request and that it had been suggested to the United Kingdom that it make the same request of British oil firms.

The request covers oil produced by US concerns outside America. The Department of Commerce also has tightened requirements for exporting aircraft and automotive fuels and other oil products, and a government source said export licenses are being refused on oil produced in the US for shipment to China.

British Toe Line

AT first the British apparently were not heeding the American action nor the State Department request for them to go along on the oil shipment ban. According to the *Daily Mirror* of New York, "business is booming in Hongkong for British Shell, which has moved in to supply the trade relinquished by the US companies."

All in all the British came out on the short end of an editorial in the same paper which took them to task not only for continuing to sell oil but also because of adverse London comments on the American showing in Korea. The *Daily Mirror*, Hearst's New York tabloid, also didn't think much of the British action in the Hongkong courts which employed "the most casuistic legalisms" in holding for the People's Government of China "a whole fleet of aircraft acquired from the Nationalist government by General Claire Chennault." The paper did not bother to explain that Chennault "obtained" the planes, after the staff members of the two Chinese air companies went over to the people's government.

The Shell Company was continuing its oil sales to China, according to its representative in Hongkong. This admission was made after a Hongkong government official described as "an absolute lie" the *Daily Mirror* allegations regarding the British moving to supply the China market when the American companies relinquished it.

Shell's representative in Hongkong, after stating that "not one drop" of his company's oil had been sent to north or central China since the US State Department asked American companies to stop supplies to China, finally got around to the fact that Shell was continuing to supply oil for normal commercial uses to the south China region in the vicinity of Hongkong.

However, scarcely 24 hours after it was stated that Shell was still selling oil to China, British resistance to the State Department's "request" caved in. From London, it was announced that the British Service Departments have commandeered all stocks of oil in the Far East and exports of oil to China "by a British company have ceased."

According to the announcement made by the British Foreign Office the US government was informed of the British action.

British Labor Divided

IN England there was a possibility that Prime Minister Attlee would be faced with a parlimentary vote of confidence over his decision to support US Korean policy, as a result of dissidents within the British Labor Party.

Political quarters stated that some of the Labor "backbenchers" were challenging the legality of the American action in the UN Security Council. They contended that the UN decision for military sanctions against North Korea was invalid because the USSR, as a permament member of the Council, did not vote for it.

Although Attlee was assured of victory even if labor dissidents forced a vote on government policy, as a result of support pledged by the Conservatives and the Liberals, it would be a great embarrassment for the Labor Government to be put to the test by members of its own party.

West German Police

While MacArthur enlarged the Japanese force in the Pacific, word came from Europe that Washington foresees Allied authorization of a police force for Western Germany. This, along with a series of far-reaching concessions to the Federal Republic, may be placed in effect as gradually and as quietly as possible during the coming months, according to Washington reports.

Some of the concessions include: 1) Approval of some form of German Foreign Office and relinquishment by the Big Three of all but a few critical review powers over German foreign relations. 2) Removal of the present restrictions on the size and speed of German merchant ships which may be constructed for export. 3) Transfer to the Germans of many of the present Allied enforcement powers over prohibited and restricted industries in steel production levels.

Atomic Warning

HARDLY had the American troops gotten bogged down in Korea than the beginning of the drive to use the atomic bomb in Korea got under way. At first relegated to the irresponsible and "lunatic fringe," gradually more substantial and respectable backing has cropped up. *The Washington Post*, regarded as having close connections in the State Department, said that North Korea should be warned of the likelihood of an atomic attack if communist forces did not withdraw from invaded South Korea.

"America's part in the propaganda battle is just as vital as the military component of the police action," the *Post* said in an editorial.

"Neglect no means is the military maxim. The invaders must be told that all means will be used, even if this required the employment of the atomic bomb to throw them back," the *Post* said.

LIU SHAO-CHI'S ANALYSIS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

This speech, analyzing agrarian reform, was given by Liu Shao-chi on June 14 at the second meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in Peking. The translation of his speech is by Hsinhua. Liu Shao-chi is vice-chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Born in Hunan in 1900, he joined the Chinese Communist Party in the year it was founded (1921) and in 1922 he was appointed to the Secretariat of the China Labor Organization. He led the trade union movement until 1927. In 1932 he went to the Communist base in Kiangsi and continued his work in the labor movement. Since that year he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and since 1943 a member of the Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council. With the inauguration of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, Liu Shao-chi became vice-chairman of the Central People's Government.

* * *

Fellow members, comrades!

The Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference stipulates that the People's Republic of China "must systematically transform the feudal and semifeudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership." Last winter, the people's government carried out and completed, or in the main completed, agrarian reform in the suburbs of the cities and a number of other areas of North China and in half the areas of Honan province. The rural population affected was 26 million.

Liu Shao-chi

Generally speaking, no serious deviations occurred in carrying out the agrarian reform during last winter. It was carried out quite smoothly and very few destructive incidents took place. The people, especially the peasants who obtained land and other means of production, are satisfied with this reform.

In addition, in the extensive newly liberated areas, the people's government and the PLA carried out campaigns to wipe out bandits, oppose local despots and reduce rents, and set up peasants' associations in many areas. According to reports from East and Central-South China areas, the peasants' associations in these two areas have already reached a membership of about 24 million. There also are about one million people's militia there. In areas where these campaigns developed, people's representative conferences at country, district and hsiang (an administrative unit comprising several villages—Editor's note) levels and peasants' representative conferences have generally been convened. Active elements among the peasants have emerged in large numbers, the administration in more than 38,000 hsiang governments has been reformed and the level of awareness of the masses of the peasants has been swiftly raised. About 180,000 cadres will be trained in the East China and Central-South China areas by the winter of this year to carry out agrarian reform. Therefore, we consider that in these areas, where the peasant movement has developed and where preparations have been made, agrarian reform can begin to be put into operation this winter.

At present, agrarian reform in China has been completed or in the main completed in an area with a rural population of about 145 millions (total population of the area is about 160 millions). There is still an area with a rural population of about 264 millions (total population of the area about 310 millions) where agrarian reform has not been carried out. Requests to be allowed to proceed with agrarian reform in the winter of this year have been made by various areas with a rural population of about 100 million—3,500,000 in North China, eight million in Northwest China, 35 to 40 million in East China and 47 to 56 million in Central-South China—covering more than 300 counties in all. This requires discussion by the National Committee and a decision to carry it out by the Central People's Government.

Apart from these, there is still an area with about 164 million rural population where it is not planned to carry out agrarian reform this winter. In the greater part of this area, agrarian reform may be carried out after the autumn of 1951. In a smaller part of the area, it may be carried out after the autumn of 1952. As for the remaining small part of the area—mainly where national minorities are concentrated—agrarian reform will be put off to some future date. Agrarian reform has been carried out in areas inhabited by Koreans and Mongolians in Northeast China and it may be carried out in other areas where the majority of the masses among the national minorities demand the carrying out of agrarian reform.

But it is still impossible to decide today when agrarian reform will be carried out in the areas inhabited by about 20 million population of the national minorities. That will have to be decided on the basis of work within the national minorities and the awareness of the masses of the people. We should give the national minorities more time to consider and prepare for reform among themselves and we must not be impetuous. The draft agrarian reform law we propose also stipulates that it shall not apply to national minority areas. This means that we plan to complete agrarian reform throughout China in the main, but not entirely, in two and a half to three years, beginning from this winter. This is only an approximate plan. If this plan is realized, it will be an extremely great historic victory of the Chinese people. And it cannot be considered a very slow, but a very rapid accomplishment of this most basic historic task of the Chinese revolution.

It is necessary to make such an approximate plan. This will enable the people's governments and people's organizations in the various newly-liberated areas to prepare for and carry out their work accordingly. We request that, in those areas where it is decided not to carry out agrarian reform this year, agrarian reform shall not be carried out. If the peasants spontaneously go ahead to carry out agrarian reform, they should be persuaded to stop. In those areas where it is decided to carry out agrarian reform this winter, efforts should be concentrated on making preparations in the summer and autumn in order that agrarian reform can start immediately after the autumn harvest and the speedy completion of public grain tax collection. And all possible effort should be made to complete agrarian reform in the main in a correct way in an area with 100 million rural population within the winter of this year. If deviations occur in some areas after agrarian reform starts and give rise to certain chaotic conditions which cannot be corrected quickly, agrarian reform should be held up in these areas in order that the deviations may be corrected and further preparations made to carry out agrarian reform next year.

To sum up, chaotic conditions cannot be allowed to occur and no deviation or confusion may be allowed to remain for long uncorrected in our future agrarian reform work. Agrarian reform must be carried out, under quidance, in a planned and orderly way, in complete accordance with the laws and decrees promulgated by the Central People's Government and the people's governments at various levels, and the principles, policies and steps decided by them. Because our future agrarian reform is of the biggest scale in history, only in this way can it conform with the interests of the great majority of the people.

In order to carry out the coming agrarian reform with leadership and order, the Central People's Government must issue an agrarian reform law and a number of other documents. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has drawn up a draft agrarian reform law to be submitted to the National Committee for examination and discussion. After general agreement has been reached the draft law will be put before the Central People's Government Council for it to enact and put into force. In order to elucidate the draft law and a number of questions which have to be considered in the future agrarian reform, I would like to take up and explain the following questions.

I

Why Should Agrarian Reform Be Carried Out?

The essential content of agrarian reform is the confiscation of the land of the landlord class for distribution to the landless peasants and land-poor peasants. Thus landlords as a class are abolished from society and the land ownership system of feudal exploitation is transformed into a system of peasant land ownership. Such a reform is indeed the

greatest and most thorough reform in thousands of years of Chinese history.

Why should such a reform be made? In a few words, because the original land system of China is extremely irrational. In general the old land situation in China is roughly as follows:

Landlords and rich peasants, who constitute less than 10 per cent of the rural population, possess approximately from 70 to 80 per cent of the land and brutally exploit the peasants by means of this land.

Poor peasants, farm laborers, middle peasants and others, however, who constitute 90 per cent of the rural population, possess in all only 20 to 30 per cent of the land. Laboring the whole year round, they hardly earn a bare subsistence. This situation has undergone some changes in the past ten years and more since the Anti-Japanese War and the People's War of Liberation. Apart from the areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, land has been even further concentrated into the hands of the landlords in some areas, such as in Szechuan and other places, where landlords possess about 70 to 80 per cent of the land.

In other areas, such as those in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtse River, land ownership is somewhat dispersed. According to the data obtained in our recent investigations of a number of villages in East China and Central-South China, the situation is roughly as follows:

Land possessed by landlords and public land constitute 30 to 50 per cent; rich peasants possess 10 to 15 per cent of the land; middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers possess 30 to 40 per cent of the land and persons renting out small parcels of land possess three to five per cent of the land.

The total area of land rented out in the rural areas constitutes about 60 to 70 per cent of the land. Land rented out by rich peasants constitutes about three to five per cent, while land cultivated by rich peasants themselves constitutes about 10 per cent.

This shows that 90 per cent of the land is cultivated by middle peasants and a section of the farm laborers; they own merely a part of the land, and the greater part does not belong to them. Such a situation is still very serious.

This lies at the root of our nation having become the object of aggression and oppression and having become poor and backward. This is also the basic obstacle to the achievement of democracy, industrialization, independence, unification and prosperity in our country. Unless we change this situation, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution cannot be consolidated, the productive forces in the rural areas cannot be set free, the industrialization of new China cannot be realized and the people cannot enjoy the fundamental gains of the victory of the revolution.

But to alter the situation, we must do what is stipulated in article one of the draft agrarian reform law: "Abolish the land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and institute the system of peasant land ownership in order to set free the productive forces in the rural areas, develop agricultural production and open the way for China's industrialization." It is for this basic reason and with this basic aim that we must carry out agrarian reform.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen long ago put forward the slogan of "Equalization of land ownership" and later the slogan of "Land to the tillers." The industrialization of China must rely on the vast market in China's rural areas and, without a thorough agrarian reform, it would be impossible to realize the industrialization of the new China. This is very obvious and does not need a great deal of explanation.

It is still necessary at the present time to explain clearly the basic reason for and aim of agrarian reform, because they show the fallacy of the various reasons given for opposing agrarian reform, for expressing doubts about it and for justifying the landlord class. At present, in fact, opposition to and doubt about agrarian reform still remain.

We can see from the basic reason and aim of agrarian reform that the historial crimes committed by the landlord class in the past are rooted in the former social system. Landlords in general will only be deprived of their feudal land holdings and abolished as a social class, but they will not be physically eliminated. The smallest minority, those on whom the people's courts should pass sentences of death or imprisonment, are certain landords guilty of heinous crimes—rural despots whose crimes are gross and whose iniquities are extreme—and those criminal elements who persistently resist agrarian reform. Therefore it is stipulated in the draft agrarian reform law that after the landlords' land and other means of production have been confiscated, the landlords will still be allocated one share of the land and the other means of production so that they can also make a living by their own labor, and reform themselves through labor. After undergoing long-term reform through labor, it is possible for landlords to become new men.

This view of the basic reason for and aim of agrarian reform is different from the view that agrarian reform is only designed to relieve the poor people. The Communist Party has always been fighting for the interests of the laboring poor, but the ideas of Communists have always been different from those of philanthropists. The results of agrarian reform are beneficial to the impoverished laboring peasants. They can help peasants partly solve the question of their poverty. But the basic aim of agrarian reform is not purely one of relieving poor peasants. It is designed to set free the rural productive forces, that is, to free rural laborers, land and other means of production from the shackles of the feudal ownership system of the landlord class, in order to develop agricultural production and to clear the path for the industrialization of China. The question of poverty among the peasantry can be finally solved only if agricultural production can be greatly developed, if the industrialization of new China can be realized, if the living standards of the people throughout the country can be raised and if China finally proceeds upon the road of Socialist development. By merely carrying out agrarian reform, part but not all of the problem of the peasants' poverty can be solved.

The basic reason and aim for agrarian reform stem from the demands of production. Hence, every step in agrarian reform should truly take into consideration and be closely co-ordinated with the development of rural production. Precisely because of this basic reason and aim, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposes that rich peasant economy be retained in the future agrarian reform. Rich peasant economy should not be destroyed. This is because the existence of a rich peasant economy and its development within certain limits is advantageous to the development of the people's economy in our country. It is therefore also beneficial to the broad peasant masses.

This, in brief, is my explanation of why agrarian reform should be carried out.

II

Confiscation and Requisitioning of Land

The draft agrarian reform law stipulates that the following lands should be confiscated or requisitioned: (1) Landlords' land; (2) The land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools and organizations and other public land in the rural areas; (3) The rural lands of industrialists and merchants; (4) The land of those people who, because they have other occupations or lack labor power, rent out land amounting to more than twice the average land holding in that locality and the land rented out by rich peasants of semi-landlord type. Except in such instances, the land and other properties of rich peasants should not in general be touched. Land and other properties owned by middle peasants, poor peasants, farm laborers and other rural people should not be touched.

Here we tolerate the renting out of small plots of land without requisitioning them. This has some disadvantageous effects upon rural production but they are not great, because in our estimation, the total amount of land rented out in small plots will not exceed three to five per cent of the total acreage of arable land. And it is necessary to show consideration for revolutionary soldiers, for the dependents of martyrs, and for workers, administrative workers, professionals and other people who rent out small plots of land because they have other occupations or lack labor power.

This is because China does not yet have social insurance for unemployed persons and those who have lost their labor power. Moreover, much of such land has been bought by the individuals' own labor. Hence there are some advantages in allowing such persons to retain this part of their land and continue to rent it or to cultivate it themselves.

Regarding the land and other properties of the rich peasants, article six of the draft agrarian reform law has clearly stipulated:

Firstly, all land cultivated by rich peasants themselves or by their hired laborers as well as their other property shall be protected and not infringed upon; because rich peasant economy can only be retained in this way.

Secondly, all small plots of land rented out by rich peasants should be retained by them and not be touched. In certain special areas, however, part or all of these lands may be requisitioned with the approval of the people's government of provincial level or above. Because, in general the quantity of land rented out in small plots by rich peasants is not great, in order to neutralize the rich peasants effectively and to protect the middle peasants and persons who rent out small parcels of land, it is also necessary for the rich peasants to retain this portion of the rented-out land.

But in certain special areas, the situation is different, the land rented out by rich peasants is of considerable size and, if it were not requisitioned, the poor peasants would be unable to get appropriate amounts of land. Therefore, in these areas, a part or all of the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned to solve the problem, if this is ratified by the people's government of provincial level or above.

Thirdly, the land rented out by the few rich peasants who rent out large tracts should be requisitioned. For instance, if a rich peasant rents out more land than he cultivates by himself and by hired laborers, then this is no mere rich peasant; he is a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type. Therefore the agrarian law stipulates that where large tracts of land are rented out by rich peasants of a semi-landlord type, exceeding in area the land cultivated by themselves or with hired labor, the rented-out portion should be requisitioned.

Then there are also persons in families of the landlords who throughout the year engage in the main in agricultural work, cultivating a section of their land but renting the major part of it. Such persons among the landlord class should be given consideration. Land which they cultivate themselves should be retained for the most part after making adequate readjustment and the rest should be confiscated.

Landlords' draught animals, farm implements, and their surplus grain and surplus rural houses should be confiscated at the same time as their land. House furnishings should be confiscated and distributed with the houses but for convenience they may be re-arranged. By surplus grain is meant the grain retained by landlords in excess of their own food requirements after rent reduction and payment of public grain. By surplus houses are meant houses in excess of those needed by the landlords and their families. It is necessary to confiscate this surplus grain as well as the surplus houses, furniture, draught animals and farm implements together with the lands and to distribute them, but at the same time a share must be retained for or distributed to the landlord. The reason is that these are the essential means of agricultural production. After the peasants have been allotted land, they must have their means of production before they can produce.

Of course, it is far from enough for the peasants merely to divide up the landlords' means of production. In order to solve the problem of production, the peasants themselves must work hard and collaborate with each other, while in addition there must be government help.

Except for the above cases, other properties of the landlords including their industrial and commercial enterprises must not be confiscated. Of course, due to their years of exploitation, most landlords have a great deal of other properties. According to our past experience, if these properties of the landlords are confiscated and distributed, it will lead the landlords to hide and disperse them. Then the peasants will search for these properties. Thus chaotic conditions can easily arise, and wastage and destruction of great quantities of social wealth will also occur. It is therefore better to allow the landlords to keep these properties. Thus they can gain a living from these properties, or they can invest them in production. This is also beneficial to society. This way of dealing with landlords in the future agrarian reform is far more lenient than in the past.

However, many landlords may still stubbornly oppose and sabotage agrarian reform, and may still stubbornly oppose and sabotage the people's government. We must resolutely punish such obstinately reactionary landlord elements and should not be lenient or give them a free rein.

Certain persons among the landlord class will conduct sabotage during and after agrarian reform, such as the mass slaughtering and killing of draught animals, cutting down trees, destroying farm implements, water conservancy projects, buildings, crops and furniture. People's governments of various places should work out detailed measures strictly to prohibit such activities. Landlords should be held responsible for taking good care of the properties which are still in their hands, and not to destroy, hide, disperse or sell them. They should pay for or be punished for any violations, and other persons than landlords, who destroy such property, should also be punished.

III

Preserve the Rich Peasant Economy

The various stipulations in the draft agrarian reform law regarding land and other property of the rich peasants aim to preserve the rich peasant economy and, in the course of land reform, to neutralize the rich peasants politically and to render better protection to middle peasants and persons renting out small parcels of land in order to isolate the landlord class and unite all the people to carry out agrarian reform and eliminate the feudal system in an orderly manner.

Why, in the past, did we allow the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of rich peasants during the agrarian reform and why now do we advocate the preservation of the rich peasant economy during the coming land distribution? It is mainly because the present political and military situation has essentially changed.

Formerly, only two years ago, the people's revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces were still in the midst of grim war. The people's forces were still in a relatively inferior position, and it was not yet decided who would win the war.

On the one hand, the rich peasants still did not believe that the people could win and they still leaned on the side of the landlords and Chiang Kai-shek to oppose the agrarian reform and the people's revolutionary war. On the other hand, the people's revolutionary war also required that the peasants pay dearly (with fighters, public grain and labor duty) to support the war and strive for victory. To strive for victory in the war was in the highest interests of the Chinese people and everything had to be subordinated to this need.

It was only at such a time that we allowed the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of the rich peasants and also to confiscate all the property of the landlords so as to satisfy to a little greater extent the demands of the indigent peasants, raise the peasants' high revolutionary enthusiasm to participate in and support the people's revolutionary war, and strike down Chiang Kai-shek's regime—sponsored by American imperialism.

This was both necessary and correct at that time, when, if there had not been an extremely thorough agrarian reform in the liberated areas and if the demands of the indigent peasants had not been fully satisfied, it would have been hard to overcome the difficulties that were encountered.

The present situation is already essentially different from that of the past. The people's revolutionary war on the mainland has been fundamentally completed, and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of brigands are undoubtedly doomed to ultimate death. The two great tasks required of the peasants—military service and public labor—have entirely come to an end and the burden of public grain delivery has been somewhat lightened.

The basic present task for the people throughout the country is to carry out economic construction and rehabilitate and develop the national economy. The fight for Taiwan remains a huge task but the PLA has adequate strength to shoulder it. The difficulties that we are meeting now are already different in character from those that we formerly encountered in the war.

Our present difficulties are mainly those arising in finance and economy and in the course of the restoration, reform and development of the economy.

At the same time, the great revolutionary unity of all nationalities, all democratic classes, parties and groups and people's organizations throughout the country has already been established politically and organizationally and the political attitude of the rich peasants, in general, has also undergone a change.

If the people's government carries out a policy of preserving the rich peasant economy, the rich peasants can be won over to a neutral attitude in general and better protection can then be given to the middle peasants, thus eliminating certain unnecessary worries of the peasants during the development of production. Therefore, in the present situation, the adoption of a policy which will preserve the rich peasant economy in the coming agrarian reform is necessary both politically and economically. It will be relatively advantageous to our country and our people and in overcoming the current financial and economic difficulties.

During the period between July 1946 and October 1947, the masses of peasants and our rural cadres in many areas of North China, Shantung and Northeast China, in carrying out the agrarian reform, were unable to follow the directions issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 4, 1946, to leave rich peasants' land and property untouched in the main.

They followed their own will and confiscated the land and property of rich peasants as well as those of the landlords. This is understandable. It is because this was a period of the most heated and bitter struggle between the Chinese people and the KMT reactionaries. It was during this period that most of the deviations in agrarian reform occurred, in which the interests of part of the middle peasants were encroached on, industry and commerce in the rural areas were partly undermined and cases of indiscriminate beatings and killings occurred in some places.

Mainly these things happened because of the serious political and military situation at that time and, because most of our rural cadres had no experience of carrying out agrarian reform, they did not know how to differentiate class status correctly in the rural areas and in a number of cases mistakenly characterized rich peasants as landlords and middle peasants as rich peasants.

In view of this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated the program on agrarian law on October 10, 1947, under which the rich peasants and landlords were differentiated but the surplus land and property of the rich peasants were allowed to be requisitioned.

In the winter of the same year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a document on the differentiation of class standing in the rural areas, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a statement on the "Present Situation and Our Tasks" and Comrade Jen Pi-shih also made a speech on questions of agrarian reform.

Since then, certain chaotic phenomena in the rural areas ceased and agrarian reform has taken the right path.

It is necessary to draw attention to the experiences of the past so that our comrades shall not repeat former mistakes during the coming agrarian reform work in the newly liberated areas.

Now we are in entirely new conditions and it is absolutely necessary to adopt in our proposed agrarian reform law the policy of eliminating the feudal system and preserving rich peasent economy.

The policy adopted by us of preserving rich peasant economy is of course not a temporary but a long-term policy. That is to say, rich peasant economy will be preserved in the whole stage of New Democracy. Only when the conditions mature for the wide use of mechanical farming, for the organization of collective farms and for the Socialist reform of the rural areas can the need for a rich peasant economy cease, and this will take a somewhat lengthy time to achieve.

This is why we advocate the preservation of a rich peasant economy at present.

Of course, in the areas where agrarian reform has been completed, the rich peasants are not permitted to take advantage of this to regain land from the peasants and, if such cases occur, they should be firmly prohibited.

IV

A Number of Questions on Land Distribution

On the matter of how to distribute land, it must first be made clear that this is a question of distribution by subtraction, supplementation and adjustment based on the holdings of the tillers and properly taking into account the interests of the tillers of the land.

Land distribution on this basis will avoid excessive and unnecessary land changes and will be beneficial to production. When the rented land of the tillers is drawn on for distribution to others, proper care must be taken of the tillers.

It is proper that the land distributed to the tiller, plus his own land, if any, should be slightly and suitably greater than the land possessed by the local landless and land-poor peasants after land distribution, thus in principle enabling the tillers to have land which equals the average acreage owned by every person in the locality. To take too much from the land rented by the tillers would cause them to suffer some loss and to give them this consideration will cause them little or no loss. This is necessary.

Also, after agrarian reform, there still remains a portion of land that has to be rented out. This land can be rented out to tillers who have had their land too much drawn upon, as an adjustment and compensation.

The best portion of the land of the tillers should be drawn upon either not at all or only slightly. Experience shows that the tillers will be satisfied after such proper consideration is given to them.

The tillers will be happy because the land which they rented from others now becomes their own, there is no need to pay rent or humble themselves before the landlords, their social status is raised, the land they acquire is more than others and they are better off.

During the distribution of land and other means of production, certain specific problems among the landless and land-poor population in the rural areas should be dealt with properly. If local land conditions permit, then more land should be given to certain people who can work, such as poor individual peasants or households of two members.

Less land or no land at all may be distributed to certain people, such as village handicraft workers, peddlers, professional people and members of their families, personnel of the people's government and other people's organizations who have salaries but whose families live in the countryside, other professional people who live elsewhere but have families in the countryside, and so forth. These people whose income is sufficient to maintain themselves should not acquire land, but some land—the amount can be less than the shares of the peasants—should be given to some people whose income cannot regularly and constantly maintain them or is not enough to maintain them.

Appropriate solutions of these questions must be based on the specific circumstances of the villages and each individual and concrete decision must be taken by means of consultation and discussion among the peasants and the individuals concerned.

Dependents of martyrs, as referred to in the draft agrarian reform law, include the immediate relatives of those who were killed in action during the various revolutions since that of 1911, during the Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War. The martyr himself should be counted as one of his family members and a portion of land be allocated as a kind of compensation for the dependents. This is essential.

Unemployed workers and their families who return to the countryside with credentials from municipal people's governments or trade unions should acquire shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants, if they demand their shares of land and are able to take up agricultural pursuits and if local land conditions permit. In this way part of the unemployed workers will be settled and this is advantageous to society.

Monks, nuns, taoists and priests in the rural districts and the following people and their families—refugee landlords and other people who worked for the enemy, but who have now returned to the villages—should be given shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants, if they have no other means of livelihood and are willing and able to take up agricultural production. Otherwise they will become jobless vagabonds, upset public order and be very injurious socially.

As a punishment, persons whose homes are in the villages and who are identified by the people's government as collaborationists and traitors, war criminals, counter-revolutionaries guilty of heinous crimes, or criminal elements who persistently sabotage the agrarian reform, cannot acquire land for themselves. While some of these persons have been identified, others still remain to be identified during agrarian reform. They should be investigated and carefully dealt with by the local people's government.

The local people's government should immediately send personnel to take charge of and manage land and other properties, which are to be nationalized according to the draft agrarian reform law and which have no people to manage them, in order to prevent them from being damaged or wasted.

If there are persons to manage the land and the state does not need it for the time being, the former managers may continue to manage it, but they may not rent it out, sell it or leave it untended. If they have no need to utilize the land, it must be handed back to the state.

The local people's government must ensure that personnel are promptly sent to take charge of scenic and historic places and historic relics if no one is taking charge of them and they are in need of care so that they may not be damaged.

These are explanations of certain questions of land distribution.

V

Some Points That Must Be Given Attention During Agrarian Reform

Agrarian reform is a systematic and fierce struggle. Our general line during future agrarian reform is that reliance should be placed on the poor peasants and farm laborers, while uniting with the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, eliminating the feudal exploitation system step by step and with discrimination and developing agricultural production.

The peasant associations should be the main organizational form and executive bodies of the forces of agrarian reform. Peasants' congresses at all levels should be the centers of activity during the agrarian reform. Sound active elements from among the peasantry, together with cadres sent by higher authorities to do agrarian reform work in the rural districts, should become the backbone of the agrarian reform.

Higher level leading organs in the various provinces where agrarian reform is being carried out should set up telephone connections with the rural districts to establish close contact with the lower levels. Responsible personnel and inspection teams should be sent down from every level to the appropriate lower level to take in hand the practical leadership of the movement.

Measures and plans for the agrarian reform are to be worked out beforehand from the hsiang upwards and are to be operated after endorsement by the higher level. If any problem arises which is beyond the capacity of the lower level to solve, it should be reported to the higher level for advice. The higher organ should at once dispatch personnel to help solve the problem. The first questions which should be solved are the vital ones, those which are ripe for solution, about which clarity has been achieved and which affect the majority of people.

Those problems where unclarity still exists or where there is still some divergence of view and which affect the minority should be settled later, lest the difficult problems affecting the minority should get in the way of those affecting the majority. These are the points which should be borne in mind by cadres at all levels who direct agrarian reform work.

Before the general carrying out of the agrarian reform, leading organs of county level and above must carry out model experiments in a few hsiangs to obtain experience to be used in the training of cadres and for directing the agrarian reform.

The purity of the leadership of the peasant associations at all levels should be guarded. The masses should be mobilized to re-elect the leadership where there is impurity. Here, the term "purity" does not mean the adoption of a closed-door attitude toward such farm laborers, poor peasants or middle peasants as may have committed certain errors or the exclusion of them from participation in the associations. On the contrary they should be welcomed into the associations, educated and brought into unity. The term "purity" here means to prevent landlords, rich peasants and their agents from joining the peasants' associations and, still more important, from taking leading positions in them.

The main leadership of the peasant associations must be chosen from among the poor peasants and farm laborers. But real alliance with the middle peasants and, above all, real protection of their land and property (including that of the well-to-do middle peasants) from encroachment is indispensable. At the same time, active middle peasants must be absorbed into the leadership of the peasant associations. It should be stipulated that one third of the leadership of peasant associations at all levels should be chosen from among the middle peasants. This is absolutely necessary. No poor peasant leagues should be organized in addition to the peasant associations. Nor should trade unions be organized in the villages.

Meetings or representative meetings of poor peasants, farm laborers and handicraft workers can be held within the peasant associations to discuss questions affecting them. Meetings of this kind, however, should be open to the participation of representatives of the middle peasants.

The peasant associations must, in practice, pay attention to recruiting the women of peasant families as members and to drawing active women into participation in the leadership. It is necessary to call women's meetings or women's representative meetings within the peasant associations so as to safeguard the interests of women during the agrarian reform, to safeguard the social rights of women and to discuss all kinds of women's problems.

Peasant associations should draw in poor, revolutionary intellectuals and other laboring people in the rural areas. Moreover, the peasant associations must unite into an anti-feudal united front all elements who are opposed to feudalism but are not embraced by the associations—

including enlightened gentry who support agrarian reform—to fight hand in hand against the system of feudal exploitation.

The people's government should call together the rich peasants, inform them of the government's policy and explain the actions of the peasant associations in order to settle their doubts. The people's government should also call the landlords together and tell them the policy and decrees of the government so that they also can understand the content and the procedure of agrarian reform.

They must also be warned not to resist or engage in subversive activities, but must honestly obey the orders of the people's government and the resolutions of the peasant associations. Then the people's government will treat them with clemency.

Only those landlords, secret agents and counter-revolutionary elements who conspire to organize resistance and carry out subversive activities, should be ruthlessly suppressed and all their resistance smashed in good time.

During the period of agrarian reform, widespread publicity and explanation should be carried out not only in the rural areas but also among people of every sphere in the cities and among the People's Liberation Army units. The agrarian reform policy and decrees of the people's government should be explained to workers, students, employees, industrialists, businessmen and the commanders and fighters of the armed forces to enable them to understand, sympathize with and help the peasants and not the landlords. It is still more necessary that they should not protect the landlords or protect landlords among their own relatives and friends. These landlord elements must be told that they have to observe honestly the laws of the people's government and the resolutions of the peasant associations, and must not carry out resistance and subversive activities, if they are to avoid punishment.

This is also very important in organizing the united front against feudalism.

During the agrarian reform, cadres of the democratic parties and groups, teachers and other democratic elements in the cities who are willing to participate must be absorbed into the agrarian reform work. It is not necessary for them to leave their native places. This will enable them and the peasant masses to undergo useful tests and education.

People's courts should be set up to suppress and punish the resistance and subversive activities of despots, secret agents, counter-revolutionary elements and the landlord class in good time and to handle the charges made by the peasants against these elements during the agrarian reform.

The people's courts should hand over ordinary criminal and civil cases and specially complicated cases, which need a long investigation before settlement can be reached, to the ordinary courts and public security organizations for decision, so as to enable themselves to concentrate their efforts on dealing with current breaches of the law during the agrarian reform and preserving revolutionary order in the rural areas.

The people's courts should carry out their work in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the government and should not deal with culprits at random. People's organizations and institutions other than the people's courts and police organs must not detain, try or deal with culprits. People's governments at all levels should pay great attention to helping the people's courts and to strengthen and train the cadres of the people's courts, thus enabling them to shoulder their own task. Otherwise there is danger that order may not be very well maintained during the agrarian reform.

Differentiation of the class status in the rural areas is a complex and extremely important work in the agrarian reform. Leading organs at all levels must tackle this in earnest according to the decisions promulgated by the Central People's Government. Great care must be taken in differentiating the landlord class because this involves the confiscation of their land and other means of production.

But the class status of most of the population in the rural areas is clear and can easily be differentiated without much divergence of view. Their class status should first be ascertained. In the case of a small proportion of the people whose class status is unclear and difficult to differentiate and where there is divergence of view, they should be dealt with later and classified after thorough study and after obtaining advice from the higher authorities. Impatience in determining the class status of these people must be avoided lest errors may be made which lead to their dissatisfaction. In short, the class status of no person should be wrongly classified and, if any mistake is made in this, it must be corrected.

To carry out these tasks and the other tasks of agrarian reform correctly, the key lies in remolding the working style of our cadres and especially in correcting authoritarianism. The movement for remolding ideology is now under way in various areas. If the work and study concerning agrarian reform are very well done, then I believe that the coming large-scale agrarian reform movement will surely be carried out with order, system and discrimination and in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government. The accomplishment of the agrarian reform will create the decisive condition permitting a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation. Moreover it will organize the broad masses of the peasants politically. Then our country and the people's government will be stronger and more consolidated than ever before.

This is my report on the question of agrarian reform. I hope you will all examine and discuss it.

LETTERS

(Continued from Page 127)

Inside the Labor Party, some members are a little progressive; they understand the history of social development—that capitalism has been developed to the extreme, and has become imperialistic, and therefore a domestic crisis cannot be avoided. So the progressive members know that capitalism is on the decline and will gradually wither away. At this period, social development has reached the stage of socialism. That means all the capitalist countries ought to form socialist states.

In Britain the Labor Government claims to practice socialism. The well-known late Mr. Harold J. Laski, the head secretary of the Labor Party, advocated: ". . . For revolution, like war, is infinite tragedy, since, in its very nature, it means pain and suffering and the tragic confusion of means with ends. What we might have made, and what we still might if the holders of power had the courage and the determination to steel themselves to sacrifice. . ." ("Democracy in Crisis," p.266).

By all means his mind is: Britain may travel on the road of socialism, but they do not need revolution. For it is infinite tragedy; many people are sacrificed and much property is damaged. So Mr. Laski hopes to change the system step by step to socialism under conditions of peace.

Surely on the surface that is all right and is a good method, but if we go ahead to think of it, then we understand that it is only an erroneous thought. Is it possible to avoid the revolution by nationalizing private enterprises? Certainly not. No one will give up his property unconditionally, no capitalist will willingly yield his factory, and no holder of power has the courage to steel himself to sacrifice it. It is impossible to wait for the capitalists to have mercy on people and be benevolent to the proletariat.

If the proletariat wants to hold state power, the only way is to overthrow the bourgeois dictatorship. Only by passing through social revolution can the proletarian dictatorship be established.

In the revolution, of course, thousands of people and much property are sacrificed and destroyed. Truly it is painful and tragic, but for the benefit of the majority—the masses—we must take away the advantages of the minority—the bourgeoisie. We ought not to avoid the revolution just because it brings pain and suffering. It is like a woman bearing a child; how can she bear a child if she does not pass through a period of pain and suffering?

The Labor Party wants to reform the state system with socialism, but without taking away the old state system. Therefore, classes haven't been eliminated, the proletariat doesn't hold state power, and exploitation by the bourgeoisie still exists. The unsolved contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat still exist. Day by day, these contradictions grow more serious. Perhaps one day these contradictions will develop to an extreme point and the class strupple will become revolution. Evidently, revolution cannot be avoided.

At last we clearly understand the standpoint of the Labor Party. In Britain, most of the parties represent the bourgeoisie, including the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, and also the Labor Party; only the Communist Party does not. The so-called "Labor Party" does not really represent the laboring people. In fact, the Labor Party borrows money from America to relieve the economic crisis at home, so it must closely follow the American bourgeoisie in exploiting the laboring people, to oppress cruelly the weak nations of the East. The Labor Party is also counter-revolutionary, against the people, for a third world war. The Labor Party leans to the imperialist front, headed by the American bourgeoisie, and is following America to enslave the world.

Some of the prominent members of the Labor Party have been real workers. For example, Ernest Bevin worked in a factory for over 30 years. But he and other leaders have betrayed the class interests of the proletariat and have surrendered to the bourgeoisie—the Labor Party. They do anything for the bourgeoisie and have become their instruments and running-dogs. They use the word "Labor" to make the British people believe that they serve the laboring people, but allow exploitation by the bourgeoisie to go on, and because they want to hide this from the people, they use "Reforming Socialism" as a mask, to cheat the people, to deceive the masses. They are really hypocrites! Let no one be deceived!

CHEN WEN-NIEH

Medhurst College
Shanghai
July 5, 1950

A QUARTERLY?

To the Editor:

I am very sorry to learn that you have decided to close down. You couldn't make it a monthly or a quarterly publication?

V. P. S.

Shanghai
July 15, 1950

CARRY ON

To the Editor:

I am very sorry indeed to learn that the **Review** will be closed on August 5. I hope, however, through some arrangements and by retrenchment policy, you will manage to carry on as long as you can.

C. Y. W. MENG

Shanghai
July 15, 1950

The Review's English Lesson CXL

Idioms and Definitions

THIS week, our text is taken from the introduction of the book "The Cold War in Germany," by the Australian journalist W. G. Burchett. Burchett spent three years after the war in Berlin. His book is a well-documented, harsh indictment of the post-war policies of the Western powers, and shows where the principal responsibility lies for the "cold war." Saying that the Soviet Union has been charged for the breakdown in international relationships, Burchett continues:

> This book **goes in** as evidence for the **counsel for defense.** It is **but** justice that the character of the witnesses upon whose **unchallenged evidence** world statesmen are basing their judgments, should be revealed and the value of their evidence determined by their activities as I watched them in Germany. I can see the word **"traitor"** forming on some lips as the book is read. It will be charged that some material should not have been published, some secrets not revealed **"in the public interest."** As I **interpret the role** of a journalist or writer, his duties far **transcend** those contracted with his newspaper or publisher, or those **wished on him** by Foreign Office or State Department. His wider duties are to the general public, and in times of peace, that means the world public. This **conception** needs **restating** today when there is an increased **tendency** to turn correspondents into **political warfare agents.**

Goes in: This book is submitted as, is written for the purpose of.

Counsel for defense: The advocate or lawyer who undertakes to defend the accused in a court of law. The author here continues the metaphor of Soviet Russia's being accused of wrongdoing in a court, where the evidence against Russia is unsubstantiated; he wishes to present evidence for the other side.

It is but justice: It is only just, right.

Unchallenged evidence: Testimony that has not been questioned as to its truth or falsity.

Character . . . should be revealed: These are the subject and verb of this rather complicated sentence. As the sentence stands, there should be a comma after "witnesses," to set off the following clause, which modifies "witnesses," more clearly.

Value . . . activities: That is, Burchett's observation of what these "witnesses" (the officers occupying Germany) actually said and did in Germany, while supposedly carrying out the provisions of the Potsdam agreement.

"Traitor:" The author thinks that some readers—those whose interests lie with the "cold war" policy—will consider him a traitor for exposing the falsity of the anti-Soviet propaganda that has come from Germany since the war. As given in the dictionary, a traitor is one who betrays his country to an enemy, or who in time of war gives aid and comfort to the enemy; or, one who betrays a confidence or is false to a friend. As Burchett indicates farther along in this paragraph, he considers anyone a traitor who is false to the interests of the general public—the masses of the people.

"In the public interest:" The author thinks the public interest is really served only by making the truth known.

Interpret the role: A phrase borrowed from the theater. Here, it means to see or understand the job (of journalist or writer); to understand the part a journalist or writer must play, what his duties are.

Transcend: To rise above, exceed, go beyond, excel, surpass. The author says that the duties of a journalist or writer toward his newspaper or publisher are of less importance than his duties to the general public. No matter what his publisher tells him to write, the duty of a journalist is to report the truth as he sees it.

Wished on him: To wish a task on someone is to give it to him to do, to pass it off on him, usually with the sense of unfairness or arbitrariness. In the present case, the journalist, whose duty is to report the truth, has the unwelcome task of conforming to official policy assigned to him by Foreign Office or State Department.

Conception: Idea, concept.

Restating: Saying again.

Tendency: Aim, direction, leaning.

To turn . . . into: To change into something else, or to use for a purpose different from that originally intended. Here, the author says that there is increased pressure put upon correspondents to serve special political interests, rather than letting them tell the truth freely.

Political warfare agents: Paid propagandists for a political line, such as the anti-Soviet campaign; or actual espionage agents.

上海香港路一一七號美豐登有限公司承印
上海延安東路一一六〇號密勒氏評論報發行